

MICROFILMED — 1983

XENOPHON'S HISTORY

OF THE
Affairs of Greece.

IN SEVEN BOOKS:

BEING
A Continuation of the *Peloponnesian*
War; from the Time where *Thucydides*
ends, to the Battel at *Mantineæ*.

To which is prefixed an Abstract of *Thucydi-*
des, and a brief Account of the Land and Naval
Forces of the Ancient *Greeks*.

Translated from the Greek, By JOHN
NEWMAN.

John LONDON, *R. H.*
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To the Right Honourable
George Lord Dartmouth,
Master General of His
Majesties Ordnance and
Armories, Master of the
Horse to His Royal High-
ness, and one of His Ma-
jesties most Honourable Pri-
vy Council.

My Lord,

THe Dependance I have on
your Lordship's Mannor
of Lewisham, where this
first Essay of my Labours had its
† 3 Birth,

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Birth, made me presume to offer
It to your Lordships Patronage;
which however I scarcely should
have ventured to do, being so lit-
tle known to your Lordship, as I
am, if your *Condescension*, and *Affa-*
bility, did not make as great a part
of your *Character*, as any other of
those *Heroick Qualities*, of which it
is composed.

Indeed there is so near a *Parallel*
betwixt your Lordship, and my
Author, that I need not go farther
for an *Apology*: For both of you,
with all the advantages of *Nature*,
Birth, and *Education*, entred early
upon

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upon high Trusts, & happily exe-
cuted them: Both great Lovers, and
Asserters of *Monarchy*: For whilst
Plato drew the *Idea* of his Com-
mon-wealth; *Xenophon* compos'd
the Model of a perfect *Monarchy* in
his admirable *Cyrus*, which was in-
deed a dangerous undertaking for
an *Athenian*, but cannot come up
to the reputation of your Lordships
Heroick Deportment in the House of
Commons, when with undaunted *Re-*
solution, a manly sort of *Eloquence*,
unanswerable Arguments, in short,
with the same *Spirit*, with which
you use to Fight, you maintained the
cause of the *Crown*, and the *Succe-*

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son; stem'd the Torrent of an impetuous faction, slenderly seconded, yet unmoveable from your Princes Interests, in a Conjuncture when Loyalty was more Criminal than Treason, and his Sacred Majesty in no less danger at Oxford, than his Father of blessed Memory, when he was actually besieged there.

Both of you great Promoters of Learning, and Favourers of learned men, and (which rarely happens) joyn'd with it an exquisite skill in Martial Affairs.

Both of you concerned in and
succesfully

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successfully perform'd that part which is justly reckoned the most difficult Point of War; for as Xenophon conducted the Grecian Army through the large Tracts of Asia, and made good their Retreat, so did your Lordship bring off the English from Africk, and as a good Angel delivered them, when they lay exposed as a cheap prey to the worst sort of Barbarians.

An Action which considered in all its Circumstances, the difficulty of the Work, the violence of the Season, a vigilant, powerful, and implacable Enemy, watching all his advantages

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vantages to fall upon you, was not only of greater *Consequence* to the Nation, but an instance too of *Conduct*, not inferior to the other.

Indeed it is a common Observation, that *those* very Persons, who since endeavour to *lessen* that performance, when your Lordship with your accustomed Obedience undertook the *Expedition*, gave it out for *impossible*.

Not to mention that *by the way*, as it were, You almost ruined

Sally,

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Sally, that troublesome Nest of Pyrats, the greatest Infesters of the *English Navigation*.

Nor to say any thing of the great Number of poor English Slaves which you most charitably redeemed, who every day they rise, are obliged to bless your Lordship for the Sight of their *Native Countrey*, and all the *Comforts* of their *Lives*.

This History relates the *Down-fal* of three *Famous Common-wealths*, and (one would think) were a sufficient Argument to convince

even

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even our *Republicans*, that that same accursed *Fruit*, which could thrive no better in its own *Native Soyl*, would much less prosper transplanted hither, and engrafted on one of the most *Ancient Monarchies* in the World.

And as your Lordships *Courage*, and *Conduct* contributed very much to the reducing a *Neighbouring Commonwealth* to its just Bounds, (for the *Dutch* will never forget your Lordship, tho *English* men should) so was there no one more instrumental in crushing a rising *Commonwealth* here at home: Your Lordship

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ship still broke, and prevented their *Designs*, put them clear out of the Road of 41, puzzled all their *Cabals*, by securing the *Magazines* and *Stores*, which if you had not come in their way, they with great probability looked upon as their *Own*: So that those who at first could not comprehend the Reason of your Proceedings, upon the discovery of the late *Horrid Conspiracy*, cannot sufficiently admire, and applaud your Lordships *Vigilance*, and *Conduct*.

Indeed as no Subject would have been worse treated if their Treasonable

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sonable Designs had took effect, so are all sorts of People sensible of it to that degree, that scarcely any one is now reckoned *truly affectionate* to the Service of your *Two Royal Masters*, who has not a *Particular Esteem*, and Honour for your Lordship.

It is well for the Common Interest that you have not leasure to make out the *Parallel*, by writing an *History*, although your *own Exploits* would afford sufficient Matter for one. Your Lordships hours are employed about more *necessary*, and no less *lasting Works* than
my

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my Authors. Not only the Present Age, but *late Posterity* too, will be indebted to your Lordships *indefatigable*, and *extensive Care*, for their *Peace*, and *Security*, both at *home*, and *abroad*.

There is one *happy disparity* betwixt *You*, and my Author, that, as he lived in the *Dregs* of a *Common-wealth*, so does your Lordship serve the *Wise*, and *Brave* Princes in the *World*; who are no less Renowned for their Firmness to their Friends, and Royal Bounty in *Rewarding* them; Then *Athens* will be *Infamous* to all Ages for
her

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her Ingratitude to those who did
her the greatest Service.

That you may long live to do
them *More*, and *Greater Services*,
is now a *Publick Wish*; but in a
more particular manner of

Your Lordships most humble

and obedient Servant,

John Newman.

THE P R E F A C E.

T*ranslation having been so much in
Vogue of late, and several Authors
turn'd into English; I made some
Attempt herein, though with small hopes
of Success: But at last having mentioned
my Design to that Learned Gentleman,
and my honoured Friend, Sir Edward
Sherborne, he was pleased to encourage my
Endeavours, both with the Communica-
tion of his own Sentiments, and the free
use of his Curious and Choice Collection of
Books; for which I thought myself obli-
ged to return him this Publick Acknow-
ledgment; as also for the great Civilities,
and continued Favours received from his
hands.*

*But amongst other Inducements I had
to Translate this Piece of Xenophon: One
was, to shew by the Examples of the Fa-
mous Commonwealths mentioned in this
History; that there is not that liberty to
be expected from these Forms of Govern-
ment, which our Republicans propos'd to
themselves and Followers. For though the
continual Cry of the Greeks was for Li-
berty; and against Oppression; yet they*
A *procured*

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procured no further Remedy by their Alterations; than those who shift their Burden from Shoulder to Shoulder, but lessen not the Weight; and at most they did but change the Tyranny, but not enlarge their Liberty. The Lacedemonian so much admired Constitution, had its Defects, and those not small ones; and though it flourished longer than any of the rest in Greece, yet it had doubtless been embroiled in Seditions and civil Wars, like other States, had there not been one thing peculiar to that Government: which was the exact Discipline and Obedience, wherein the Youth and Men were trained up; being esteemed Sons of the Publick, and not of private Persons: which the Romans partly imitated, by giving the Father power over his Son all his life-time, or till he was thrice sold, and manumitted: and to this did Dionysius Halicarnassensis ascribe the Greatness of the Roman Empire.

But for the proof of my Assertion, I shall give a brief account of the Athenian, Lacedemonian, and Roman Commonwealths, the last being framed after the Lacedemonian Model; and shew from these Instances, that the Changes of Government, and noise for Liberty, were the

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years, and at last for One.

*Xenophon the Author of this History was an Athenian, and being a Person of so great Learning and Ingenuity, he probably related nothing to the disadvantage of his Country: yet in his Treatise of the Athenian Commonwealth, he finds several faults with it. First, That the People had too great a Power, and carried all by Violence and Tumult; and that it fared better in that Government with Rogues, than Honest-men: Besides the several Changes it suffered during the Transactions of this History, sufficiently evince its weakness, and imprudent Constitution. Their Reformer Solon settled his Laws by making himself Popular, and by introducing a *Σεπτιχθια*, a kind of Jubile, being like the *Novæ tabulæ* at Rome, which was a forgiving all Debtors what they owed: Though he valued not the great Injustice and Oppression offer'd to the Creditors, by depriving them of their Estates at the same time, that he gave this Indulgence to the poorer sort. Their Ostracisme was a severe and unjust Law, by which they banished the bravest men, that had by their gallant Actions won the Love and Veneration of the People: And though this Popularity was not by their*

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seeking, but a necessary Consequence of their Noble Exploits; yet they must be packed out of the way for Ten years, and ruined: So great a Crime it was to deserve well of their Country! This opened a Door to Revenge and other pretences; for when any Faction had a mind to rid themselves of a Great Man, they had nothing to do but possess the people with a jealousy of his Popularity, for which he was banished, and their business done. Indeed some were Generous, and over-looked their Pievishness: but on the contrary, others, as Alcibiades resented it, who may truly be said to be the first that contrived the ruine of his Country.

In these Commonwealths for want of a Supream Head, the Ambitious thought they had as good a Title to the Government as others; and by this means they were divided into Factions; the stronger always taking it for granted that they were in the right, and thereupon banished the weaker; who fled for protection to the Neighbouring Republicks, where they being set on by revenge, plotted and contrived to embroyl their Country in a War. The kind Reception the Fugitives found amongst the Athenians (who were in this the Dutch of Greece) made them not scruple

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the Occasion of all their Miseries.

To begin with the Lacedemonian; an indifferent Observator may at first sight discover, from whence our Republicans have taken their Measures: and that the same Approaches have been made on our Monarchy as were on the Lacedemonian; and without doubt they had carried on their Designs as far, had they not been timely discovered, and happily prevented.

The Lacedemonian Kings were at first absolute, and continued so till two Kings sat on the Throne at once, their Power being no more diminished hereby, than when there were Consorts in the Roman Empire, or now that there are two Czars in Moscovy. At length some of the Kings straining their Power (there being no Government but what may be abused, whilst Men are subject to Passions, and Things to Change.) Lycurgus one of the Royal blood contrived a new Model, joyning the Nobles with the Kings in the Government; and made several Laws in favour of the People, taking with him the Nobility to the Oracle at Delphos, to enquire what Apollo thought of them: who confirmed his Laws, and so the observance of them became a Point of Conscience. Thus the Nobility first Invaded the Royal Prero-

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gative : about 130 years after, Theopompus an easie King, thinking to entail the Kingdom more firmly on his Posterity, Instituted the Ephori; who being farther to temper, and allay the Power of the King, did so far encroach in time, that he became their Slave; and they made him little more than a private man; having power to Mult, Imprison, Banish, and put him to death; nay, to alter the Succession, when they thought good. They had also the Priviledge to sit, when the King came into their presence, thinking it not proper to pay him Respect, whom they had under their Correction. The Ephori could make War and Peace; the Ephori could put any to Death, without form of Justice: they were Treasurers, they kept the King poor, and their Power became at last exorbitant and tyrannical.

In the next place I come to speak of the Athenian Commonwealth; the Athenians lived under a Monarchy, till that good King Codrus, who sacrificed himself for his Country; and thereby gained so great a Veneration from the people, that they thought none worthy to succeed him, but changed the Kingly Government into a Republick administred by perpetual Archons, who were afterwards created for Ten years,

A brief Account of the Land and Naval Forces of the Ancient Greeks.

I Thought it might be necessary for the better understanding of this *History*, to give some Account of the Land and Naval Forces of the *Greeks*; yet not to make a set Discourse about it, but only to speak of the *Militia*, as it was in the time of the *Peloponnesian War*: this Art continually altering and improving as well in former Times, as in this present Age.

It will be necessary also to Treat separately of the *Lacedemonian* Discipline, because it was distinct from that of the rest of the *Greeks*; and then speak of those Particulars, wherein the *Athenians* and others varied from it.

The *Lacedemonians* were the most valiant People of all the *Greeks*; and tho' their Numbers were but small, yet they were so well experienced, that they very rarely mist of Success, fighting with an assurance of Victory. Their Life was continually employ'd in Action, and such Provision was made by the Laws of their

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their Country, that not only the Men, but the Women also were used to Robust Exercises, and the Parents inured to hardship, that the Children might be rendred strong, and able to undergo the Fatigue of War.

The Youth were divided into two Parties, and exercised Mock-battels, encountering wheresoever they met, yet were they under such exact Discipline, that if any came by, and offered to part them, and they refused to obey, they were immediately carried before the *Pædonomus*, a Magistrate that took cognizance of those Crimes, and severely punish'd them, for being so far transported with Passion, as not to pay due Obedience to the Laws.

By this their Discipline they became hardy and resolute, fighting with that obstinacy, that they would rather die, than yield: But farther to habituate them to this Virtue of Martial Patience, they were once a year cruelly whipt at the Altar of *Diana Orthia*, which though it were rather a Punishment than an Exercise, yet they bore it with an Invincible Courage.

In this manner they were Train'd up till they came to thirty years of age; for before

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scruple to commit any Crimes, seeing they could find such easie shelter from Justice and the Law.

The Romans after the expulsion of their Kings, framed their Commonwealth according to the Lacedemonian Model, creating two Consuls; and for the same reasons that the Lacedemonians did two Kings. But the People considering that they had no power, and the Senate all, became seditious: Nor would they be satisfied till they in imitation of the Spartan Ephori had created Tribunes; whose persons were so Sacred, that if any did but speak derogatory from them, they had power to put him to Death without a Tryal. Nor were any the Authors of Sedition, Tumults, Murthers, and Civil Discord, more than the Tribunes, who were the Protectors of the People. 'Twas these that ruined the Commonwealth, which they pretended to defend. The Authority of the Emperors that were absolute Lords of Rome, was made up of the Tribunes and Consul's Power: One may therefore conclude from hence, that there is not that liberty to be found in these Republicks, which some have imagined, and that the Subjects in them were meer Slaves, the Ephori being Tyrants amongst the Lacede-

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Lacedemonians, the People amongst the Athenians, and the Tribunes amongst the Romans. For what greater Power can there be, than to inflict Punishment of Death without Form of Justice? Estate follows Life; and what can't they do in Religion, who are absolute Masters of the other two? Liberty is desired by all; of which we by our wise Constitution have a greater share than any Nation either has, or we could expect from a Change. And because our own Examples affect us most, we may look back to the late Civil Wars, which were begun and fomented for the Cause of Religion and Liberty; yet both destroyed: the unhappy Nation suffering well nigh as many Alterations of Government, as it did Tears of War and Confusion: The Troubles also drew along with them, Rebellion, Schism, Faction, Atheism, and a Train of Vices; whose dire effects we still see in the General Corruption of Manners and Tendency of the Factious to the Old Game. Nor could our Differences be composed, till the Rightful Heir was recalled, and the Ancient Government together with our Liberty restored: which we enjoy under our Gracious Prince, rather unthankfully repining, than justly prizing it.

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before none were suffered to go into the Campaign, unless it were upon a very great necessity. Thus having spent so many years in the Speculation of War, they became so strong and vigorous in the practice thereof, that they lasted forty years fit for Service, none having a Mission till he was seventy years of age.

Their Infantry consisted of Targetiers, Light-arm'd, and Heavy-arm'd men; the Light-arm'd men were placed in the Wings, being commanded out in the Fore-lone-hope, and used in Skirmishes, because they were not loaden with Armour. Their Arms were Arrows, Darts, Staves, and Stones, which they threw, or slung; taking any extemporary Weapon that came in their way. The *Scho-liast* of *Thucydides*, says, they did not close, but fought at some distance, advancing, and retiring as they saw occasion for either.

The Targetiers were a middle sort, between the Light and Heavy-arm'd men, having a Target or lesser Shield, and a Sword: They were nimble and expeditious, and very useful for pursuing; the *Lacedemonian* Regiment near *Corinth* being cut off by *Iphicrates's* Targetiers.

The Heavy-arm'd men were raised out

of

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of the beter sort, the other two being for the most part Mercenaries and Half-slaves: Their Arms were a Shield of Brass, a Pike and a Scymitar; their business was to repulse the Enemy, and to maintain their ground, because the Fortune of the Day depended on them; for if they were Defeated the Army was totally Routed: And in these indeed did the chief Strength of the *Lacedemonians* consist. When they put the Enemy to flight, the Horse light-arm'd men, and Targetiers pursued, though it was a Maxime amongst them, *Not to be too eager, but to make their Enemies a Bridge of Gold, lest Desperation should make them fight and vanquish their Pursuers.* Our Author also blames *Agésilas* for meeting the Enemy in their flight, whereas he ought to have rather given them way, and followed the Pursuit.

As for their Horse, the *Lacedemonians* had a Body of three hundred that fought near the King, like the *Roman Celeres*: But they were very deficient in this part of their *Militia*, those they had were arm'd with Spears, and Charged full Cariere; some of them carried Bows, and were called *Hippotoxotæ*. They were furnished with the main Body of their Horse

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Horse from the *Thebans*; and being at War with them, they were deprived of those *Auxiliaries*: So that *Epaminondas* the *Theban* General, knowing the *Lacedemonians* were weak in *Cavalry*, charged them at the Battels of *Leuctra* and *Mantineia*, with his own and the *Thessalian* Troops, whereby he gave them those two memorable Overthrows.

The *Lacedemonian* Forces consisted both of their own Subjects, called πολέμιον, and their Allies. Of the first there were four sorts: The *Spartans* which were the Inhabitants of the City, and enjoyed more Priviledges than the rest; the Περίοικοι, or the *Lacedemonians* which dwelt in the Country; the Half-slaves who had merited Freedom by their Valour: The *Lacedemonians* thinking it of dangerous Consequence to cut them absolutely off of all hopes, lest the desperateness of their Fortune might provoke them to rise up in Arms against the Government, and subvert it: the last were the Slaves, the *Candidates* for Liberty, whom they trained, because the Wars made such a consumption of People, and raised Emulation in them, that they might advance themselves thereby to their Freedom. The Confederates made up the Gross of their Army

Army, for their own Numbers were but small, which they concealed either out of a Maxime of their own, or that the Enemies by knowing how few they were, might not despise them: Yet this considerable Number, were men of such extraordinary Valour, that *Agis* being askt, How many strong the *Lacedemonians* were? made answer, *Enough to fight any Army whatsoever*. However one may conclude from the Forces they had at *Leuctra*, that they were not very numerous; because though but Four hundred *Spartans* out of Seven hundred, and a thousand *Lacedemonians* were slain, yet this Loss was so great, that they were forc'd to take in all under seventy years of age to recruit their Army; and their Men were so exhausted, that they had scarce enough wherewith to supply the necessary Offices of Government.

The *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians* were called *Μόραι*, or Regiments, being opposed to the *Σύμμαχοι*, or Allies: In each *Μόρα* were Four *Λόχοι* in every *Λόχος* 8 *Πεντηκονταί*, in every *Πεντηκονταί* Sixteen *ἑνωμοτίαι*, which last contained two and thirty men, according to the *Scholiast* of *Thucydides*, so that a *Μόρα* consisted of Five hundred and twelve. *Xenophon* and the *Scholiast* of *Thucydides*

Thucydides differ in their Computations, for in these things no certain Number can be assign'd; and so the *Roman Legion*, as our Regiment was more or less, having no determinate Number. Each *Μόρα* had its *Ποχέμαρχος*, or Colonel, under whom was the *Συμφορεύς*, or Lieutenant Colonel. The *Phalanx* at this time was not taken for any certain Number, but sometimes for a *Battalion*, or sometimes for the whole body of Foot. The eldest *Polemarch* was Lieutenant General of the Army, and after *Cleombrotus* was slain in the Battel of *Leuctra*, *Dino* the *Polemarch* commanded in Chief. Besides these there were three hundred Horse, and six hundred *Sciritæ*, which were a chosen Band, that were placed in the left Wing.

The whole Army was Conducted by one of their Kings, who had an absolute and uncontrollable Power, till *Agis* was so unfortunate as to make an hasty Treaty, and then they assign'd him a Council of War, without whose joynt Consent he could not act: Or else by a General who had the Title of *Harmostes*, which was given also to the Governour of a Town. If the King was a *Minor*, then the *Πρόδικος*, or *Protector*, commanded for him.

him. Before an Expedition was undertaken, the King performed some preparatory Sacrifices, called *διακαθηγια*, and took the Field near Harvest, that being the most likely-time to draw the Enemy out of their Fortresses to a Battel, because they would come forth to defend their Corn: If they did not, the *Lacedemonians* did not sit down before their *Garrisons*; it being forbidden them by their Laws to besiege Towns, because any kind of men by the benefit of a Wall might resist the most courageous, and a valiant Man might be destroyed by an impatient Woman.

The *Lacedemonians* therefore being less expert in Sieges than any other of the *Greeks*, they would not suffer any of their Neighbours to Fortifie, but either pull'd down their Walls by force, or oblig'd them thereto by Treaty. Though they had a fair pretence that no strong Holds should be built, lest the *Persian* if he Invaded *Greece* any more, should possess himself thereof, and gain firm footing in their Country. I don't find that the *Ancient Greeks* had any formal ways of besieging Towns, further than the raising a Wall about the Place they beleagur'd, whereby they cut off Provisions and Succors

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cors from the Besieged. Their Engines were but ordinary, and rather invented occasionally than used commonly. By the account we have of the famous Siege of *Platææ*, we may Collect what their Methods were in others: It was at first Invested by the *Peloponnesians* and *Thebans*; but the former marched home, and left the Siege to the management of the *Thebans*, who built two Walls of Brick sixteen Foot wide, like the Lines of Contravallation and Circumvallation, between which they posted themselves: After that they raised a *Cavallier*, or high Mount to over-look the Town. On the contrary, the Besieged erected a wooden Wall upon the other of Stone, to intercept the Enemies Prospect into the City, and ran up another of Brick for a Retrenchment, if the outermost should be taken. Whilst the *Thebans* raised their *Cavallier*, the Besieged carried a Mine to it, and took away the Earth as fast as the Besiegers brought it, and thereby hindered the advance of the Work.

They had also another Device in the Attacking of Towns, which was to carry a great deal of Combustible matter near the Walls, that they set on fire, and forcing the Enemy from their Posts with

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the Flames, they entred by the benefit thereof, and so carried it on to the Houses: The Besieged did not make frequent Sallies, for if they had, four hundred and eighty Men could not have defended *Plataea* the space of two years. Towns were taken three ways, *Ἀντιβουλῇ* by Assault, by Surrender, when the Garrison and Inhabitants deliver'd up the Place before the Enemy sat down before it: to this latter is opposed *κατὰ νύκτα*, when the Enemy made Works, and took the Place by Siege.

When the Armies were in the Field, they threw up a Trench, and planted Palizado's upon it, to secure themselves from the Surprize of an Enemy. The Generals drew up their Battel in the form of a Wedge; and in an Oblong Figure, which sometimes was with the longest side to the Front, and other-whiles the longest side in depth; they drew up sometimes in one, and sometimes in another, according as they thought it most for their advantage. When the *Battalions* were made deep, or form'd into a Wedge; the Design was to break through the Enemies Battel and to rout them: Though these Forms had their Inconveniences; the first especially, because they being many in File,

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File, and few in Front, the Enemies that Out-winged them, might Flank them, and fall in at those Intervals which were made by the eager and unequal pressing forward of the foremost Ranks, and ruine their Body. Neither would it hold in parity of Reason, that because a Wedge of Iron would rive a Block, that therefore one of men should pierce a *Battalion*.

The *Thebans* at the Battel of *Leuctra* were few in Front, and fifty deep, supposing if they made so strong an Impression on those about the *Lacedemonian* King as to Rout them, that they should Defeat the rest with ease; and accordingly it hapned. The Heavy-arm'd men were Marshalled so as to receive the Light-arm'd men and Targetiers within them; (the ancients Heavy-arm'd men being like our Pike-men) whereby they who had the rising-ground, obtain'd a considerable advantage over those that were drawn up in a Plain: Which *Thrasylulus* took notice of to his Souldiers, when he encouraged them to fight against the Thirty Tyrants; telling them that the Enemy stood on a Level, and none but those who were in the Front could make use of their Darts and Lances; whilst they standing on an Hill, could

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could employ all hands, and bring every one to fight.

Before the Battel began, an *Hymn* was sung to animate the Souldiers, and the like after by those who had obtained the Victory. Most of the *Greeks* when they engaged set up a shout, and ran with a full Cry upon the Enemy, but the *Lacedemonians* differ'd from them in this, for they had Pipers disposed up and down in convenient Stations, who were to play when the Army moved, that the Souldiers might pace according to the Modulation of the Pipes. And whereas the fury and noise affected by others was to beget Courage in them, and hurry them on against the Enemy; the *Lacedemonians* advanced, and struck a terrour into their *Antagonists*, with their Resolution and Gravity. The greatest disgrace amongst them was to lose their Shields, such being branded with the Name of *ἡμιανδρες*. Nor was it less reproachful to fly, as may be gathered from the *Epigram* about an Heroick Woman, who meeting her Son running out of the Field, killed him with this Elogy; that she could forget the Affection of a Mother, whilst he forgot the Duty of a *Lacedemonian*. Their Education and Discipline

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plined made them so terrible, that none cared to engage with them, they being Men positively resolv'd to Conquer, or to die. When a Victory was obtain'd, the Conquerors went to the place where the Battel began, sang an *Hymn*, and erected a Trophy as a Monument of their Success, and delivered the Slain upon Truce; for the *Greeks* were very careful to bestow burial upon their Dead, not only out of Decency, but a superstitious Conceit, that the Souls of the Dead were not at rest till the Bodies were interr'd.

In order to the making of Peace, there was *ἐμμετρία*, a cessation of Arms, till such time as they treated of a Truce or Peace, though generally a Truce or temporary Peace was made; as that of *Eubœa* for thirty years; a second between the *Peloponnesians* and *Athenians* for fifty years; and another for an hundred: The Forms of their Peace were engraven on Pillars, as the *Roman* Treaties were in the *Capitol*; and if any Party violated them, the breach hereof was under-written.

The *Athenian Militia* differed from the *Spartan*: The *Athenians* being Lords of the Sea, and possess'd of many Islands, were able to bring a far more numerous Army into the Field than the *Lacedemonians*,

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nians, or any one Estate of Greece. *Pericles* exciting his Country-men to pursue the War vigorously against the *Peloponnesians*, tells them that they had thirteen thousand Heavy-arm'd men, besides sixteen thousand more dispers'd up and down in the Garisons and Frontiers; to which if we add the proportion of Light-arm'd men and Targetiers, they will make up a very powerful Army. The Forces of the *Athenians* were called ἐκ κατὰ λόγους, as those of the *Spartans* Πολιτικόν, and oppos'd to the *Auxiliaries*: They were rais'd according to the Tribes which were ten in number; for amongst the *Hebrews* and *Romans*, the Division by Tribes was accommodated to the Military as well as Civil Government. The ταξιαρχοί, frequently mentioned in this History, were the Captains of the Heavy-arm'd men. They had also a standing Body of Horse, not exceeding a thousand, to which were assign'd forty Talents, or seven thousand five hundred pound Sterling for their yearly maintenance. The *Cavalry* were commanded by two *Hipparchs* or *Colonels*, who had ten *Phylarchs* or *Captains* subordinate to them; because these were rais'd by the Tribes as the Heavy-arm'd men.

As

Naval Forces of the Ancient Greeks.

As for the Naval Forces, the *Athenians* excell'd at Sea, as the *Lacedemonians* did at Land: for *Themistocles* having overthrow'n the *Persian* Fleet in the great Sea-fight at *Salamis*, encouraged his Country-men to apply themselves to Naval Affairs. They followed his Counsels, and in the space of fifty years, partly by their own Industry, and partly by the natural advantage of their Situation, obtain'd the Sovereignty of the Sea.

During the time of this War, the *Greeks* made use of Gallies, which were Ships of considerable Force. The first Gally was built at *Corinth*, the *Greeks* having small Vessels before, called from the number of their Oars; as Τετακόντορες, from thirty, Πεντηκόντορες, from fifty Oars. The Gallies now used in the *Mediterranean* are vastly different from those of the Ancients, and several Learned Men who have written on this Subject; as *Baysius*, *Jos. Scaliger*, in his *Animadversions* on *Eusebius*; *Stewechius* in his Notes on *Vegetius*, *Schefferus*, and *Palmerius* have varied very much in their Opinions.

Palmerius brings the Authority of an ancient Author, Printed with *Ælian*, to prove that Ships terminat'd in τέρ, as τετακόντορες, τεσσερακόντορες, are denominated from

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from the number of their Oars, and those that end in *nens*, as *τρηνενς*, a Gally, from the several Banks and Distinctions of Rowers, setting one above another in height. Yet we must not understand it so, as that the Rowers sat in distinct Decks, because *Ptolemy Philopator's* Ship that had forty Banks of Oars, had but forty eight Cubits, or seventy two Feet in height from the water; so that if these had sat in distinct Decks, the men must have been *Pygmies*, each Deck not having two feet in height. Neither were the Rowers placed above one another in a Perpendicular; for then as great difficulty will remain still. If therefore we suppose the Banks to have been placed obliquely, and to have rose gradually like Stairs, and allow each Bank one Foot, and $\frac{1}{4}$; *Ptolemie's* Ship of forty Banks, and seventy two Feet, will require but fifty Feet, and there will remain twenty two for other uses.

The Rowers in a Gally were distinguished by three Names, the Lowermost were called *Thalamaces*, and had the shortest Oars, the middle-most *Zygitaæ*, and the uppermost *Thranitaæ*, who had larger Oars than the other two, and received more pay, as the *Scholiast* of *Thucydides*

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cydides to the sixth Book observes.

The *Lacedemonians* wholly neglected the Sea, being prohibited by their Laws to learn the Customs and Manners of other Nations; lest Foreigners by their Commerce should Import as well their Vices as Merchandizes. Nor did they set out a Fleet till they were made sensible of the advantage the Enemies had, and the Damage they themselves sustained for the want of one.

The Sea-service amongst the *Greeks* was esteem'd of lesser Dignity than the Land, and the Sea-men were lookt upon as a contemptible sort of men: Nay, the *Athenians* themselves gave the Command of Ships to land Captains, only taking care to procure them Masters, which were expert Sea-men. The Ships were mann'd with several sorts of men; as Rowers, Sea-men, who Navigated the Ships, and handed the Sails; *Epibatæ*, or Souldiers for Sea-service, and Heavy-arm'd men, which last were employ'd at Sea, because they seldom fighting at a distance, grapled, and made a standing Fight of it, as at Land. I have not met any where with the number of Men, their Ships carried; though I suppose (if we except the Rowers) they had fewer in proportion

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tion than those in our time, because their Men did not fight between the Decks.

The Sea-men's Pay varied according to the Times and Exigencies of State; *Thucydides* says, They had a *Drachma*, or Seven Pence Half-penny a Day; but we find in the First Book of this History, that *Lyfander* moved *Cyrus* to encrease the Seamens Pay, and raise it from Three *Oboli* to a *Drachma*, which contained six; shewing that the Seamen would come into the *Lacedemonian* Service, and desert the *Athenian*; because they always resort thither where most Pay is to be had. At last, *Lyfander* prevailed with *Cyrus* to raise the Pay to Four *Oboli*, which was Five Pence *English*.

The *Athenians* had not always one Admiral, but sometimes more; as when *Alcibiades* went out, they had Three, and when he was put out of Commission, there were Ten chosen. On the contrary, the *Lacedemonians* had one Admiral, called *Navarchus*, who had under him a Vice-Admiral, called *Epistoleus*, that Commanded in absence of the other.

When the Admirals design'd to Engage, they left their Main-Masts and Sails ashore, because they were an hindrance to them in time of Fight, especially when they

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they rowed against the Wind. The manner of their Engaging was to brush off the Enemies Oars, whereby the Ship was disabled, and to give each other the shock: whereupon the Prows of the Ships were fortified with strong pieces of Timber and Brass; they always striving to strike a Ship on her side, that being the weakest part of her, and he that was attacked, endeavoured to receive the stroke on his Prow, or decline it.

There were three Figures that the Fleets usually drew up in, which they did upon several accounts, according as they saw it most advantageous. There was the *Μηννοειδὲς*, or Half-Moon; in this they placed the strongest Ships in both the Horns: If the Ships were nimble, they drew up *ἐν τῇ κέρῳ* in a Line, or Series, that they might surround the Enemy; sometimes in a close Body, and that was when they were bad Sailers: because by this Figure they could sustain the shock of the nimble Ships, that they might not break through them. Other-whiles they rang'd their Ships in a mixt Form; some in a Body, and some in a Line or single Order, called *ἐν τῇ πλάτῃ*.

After a Victory was obtain'd, they erected a Trophy in some convenient place

A brief Account of the Land, &c.

place on the Continent, and the *anagathid*, or Stems, (though *Schefferus* will have them to be Jacks and Colours) were taken by the Victors, and born in Triumph.

 *Note that the Stater mentioned in the Fifth Book, ought rather in proportion to be understood of the Silver Coin, which Scaliger values at Four Drachma's, or 2 s. 6 d. Sterling, than of the Golden Coin, which W. Snellius prizes at 25 Drachma's, or 15 s. 7 d. ob.*

An

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AN
ABSTRACT
OF THE
Peloponnesian War,
OUT OF
THUCYDIDES.

LIB. I.

THE Greeks having vanquish'd the formidable Armies of Darius and Xerxes, became the most renowned People in the World.

And from that time the Lacedemonians, and Athenians encreasing their Power, and Forces, the rest of the lesser States sided with the one, or other of them, according as their Inclinations or Interests led them.

But the Lacedemonians employing their

B

Arms

An Abstract of the

Arms at Land, engaged those they subdued, only to conform their Government to the Spartan Model, not exacting any Tribute from them. On the contrary, the Athenians by the Encouragement of Themistocles having set out a Fleet, reduced with it the Islands of the Aegean Sea, improv'd their Commerce, and obliged their Allies to pay certain Impositions, and Taxes; whereby they became exceeding Wealthy, and Powerful.

The growth of the Athenians imposed a necessity on the Lacedemonians of making War: The pretence of which was Epidamnus a Colony of the Corcyreans: Who growing first Rich, and then Factious, banished several of their Citizens. The Exiles joining with the Barbarians brought the Epidamnians so low, that they were necessitated to send for Succour to Corcyra their Mother-City. But, the Corcyreans rejecting their request, they dispatched Messengers to the Oracle to inquire, Whether they might not surrender to the Corinthians as their Founders: Because Phalrus that settled the Colony was a Corinthian.

The Oracle answered them, They might, accordingly they profered their Submission to them, and they readily accepted it, out

of

Peloponnesian War out of Thucydides. 3

of hatred to the Corcyreans; who were a Corinthian Colony, but had cast off their Founders, and in the publick Solemnities did not according to the Custom of Colonies make use of a Corinthian Arch-Priest, but becoming by their Wealth, and Naval Forces equal to the most powerful States of Greece, despised them.

Thereupon the Corcyreans going with a Fleet against Epidamnus blockt it up, and beat the Corinthians, that came to the relief of the place, and took it the same day.

The Summer following, the Corinthians resolving to revenge their former disgrace, made very great Preparations, obliging the Corcyreans to enter into a League defensive with the Athenians, that the latter might not break theirs with the Peloponnesians: Yet the Athenians foresaw, that they should be engag'd in a War with the Lacedemonians, because the former would not let such an important place as Corcyra, that had so considerable a Naval Force, and lay so convenient for Transporting an Army into Italy, and Sicily, be an Accession to the Corinthians: Therefore the Corinthians put to Sea with a Fleet of 150 Sail, and overthrew the Corcyreans in an Engagement, soon after breaking

B 2

with

with the Athenians for assisting the Corcyreans. The Athenians suspecting there would be a Rupture, that they might be before-hand with them, Commanded the Potideans their Tributaries, and a Colony of the Corinthians, to demolish their Walls towards Pallene, to give Hostages, to expel their Magistrates sent by the Corinthians, and not to receive them for the Future. When the Potideans could get no abatement of these Terms propos'd by the Athenians, they went with the Corinthian Ambassadors to Lacedemon, and obtain'd an assurance, that in Case the Athenians made War upon the Potideans, the Lacedemonians would enter Attica with an Army. The Potideans having strengthened themselves with the Alliances of their Neighbours revolted; whereupon the Athenians went with an Army, and besieged them.

The noise of this Siege brought the Corinthian Ambassadors, and several others to Lacedemon with Complaints against the Athenians. After a full hearing of the Case the Lacedemonians induced by the apprehensions they had of the Athenians Power, who had already subdued a great part of Greece, declared, that the Athenians were the Aggressors. The Lacedemonians also to make the War appear more

Specious

Specious on their side, sent Ambassadors to expostulate with the Athenians, to require them to raise the Siege of Potidea; and permit Aegina to be governed by its own Laws: Especially to revoke the Decree prohibiting the Megareans the Freedom of the Athenian Ports, and Markets.

Whilst these things were debating in the Council, Pericles an eloquent Person, and the greatest Man in Athens of his time, oppos'd their Demands: Shewing that these were no sufficient grounds for a War, and that if they yeild'd in this, the Lacedemonians would impose more upon them: That the Confederates had many different Interests, that their Counsels were divided, and came not to any sudden resolve. On the contrary, that the Athenians had a considerable Fleet, wherewith they could make frequent Descents, and give the Enemy a powerful Diversion. And because their Strength consisted chiefly in Islands, having only Attica that lay open to the Depredations of the Enemy, they could not sustain so great losses by Land, as the Confederates. Therefore this Answer should be return'd them, That they would permit the Megareans the Freedom of their Ports, and Markets: Provided the Lacedemonians would grant the Athenians,

and their *Allys* (who were *Aliens in Sparta*) the *Priviledges* of their own *Subjects*. That they would *reſtore* the *Cities* to their *Liberty*, if they did enjoy the ſaid *Liberty*, before the *League* was made. Provided alſo, that the *Lacedemonians* would do the like to the *Cities* under their *Juriſdiction*, and not oblige them to conform to the *Model* of their *Government*: And that they deſired to *adjust* theſe *Differences* by *Treaty*, as being *unwilling* to begin a *War*, but ready to defend themſelves againſt one.

LIB. II.

The Peloponneſian War began the Lxxxvii Olymp. when Pythodorus was Archon, who continued on-ly for two Months in his Office, and then about the 11 of June Euthydemus ſucceeded him.

The Peloponneſian War began the fifteenth of the thirty years Truce made after the taking of Eubœa, occaſioned by the Thebans, who were let into Plataea by ſome Conſpirators: But the Townſmen being more inclined to the Intereſt of the Athenians, and coming to themſelves, ſet upon the Thebans, who being not able to defend what they had taken were overpowered, and put to the Sword. The Athenians placed a Garrifon in the Town, and thus the League being broken, both ſides made Alliances; and Preparations to carry on the War. Afterwards, when the Peloponneſians

loponneſians ſent an Army into Attica under the leading of Archidamus, with whom Pericles had contracted by hoſpitality a Friendſhip; leſt the other might ſpare his Lands, either out of reſpect, or to render him ſuſpected, he aſſembled the People, and acquainted them, that if the Enemy forbore his Eſtate, he would beſtow it on the Publick. He alſo commanded the People to abandon the Country, and retire into the Garrifons, and places of Security: There being no Preparation made againſt the Lacedemonians; it cauſed great diſcontent, for that they being uſed to the freſh Air, were now forced to crowd up in Towns; whiſt the Lacedemonians invaded Attica, the Athenians having a Fleet of an 150 Sail, and conſidering the Iſland Ægina lay convenient for them, drove out the Inhabitants thereof; and made ſeveral Deſcents on Peloponneſus, and other places. This Winter were ſolemnized the Funerals of the firſt ſlain in the War, and Pericles made the Oration in praiſe of them.

This year a terrible Plague having travelled over moſt part of the World arriv'd at Athens, which ſeized the Athenians both at home, and abroad, but did not enter Peloponneſus: Tho the apprehenſions thereof,

Second year and third of the Olymp. Apollodorus Archon.

An Abstract of the

thereof, made the Army return sooner out of the Athenian Territories, than otherwise they had intended. The People being consumed with Sword, Depredations, and Pestilence, clamored against Pericles, as being the only cause of their Calamities. Thereupon he assembling them together, heartned them up to prosecute the War vigorously, and not be discouraged; advising them to apply themselves wholly to their Sea-Affairs, and not to despond. Pericles at length died two years and six Months after the first breaking out of the War. In the latter end of Summer Aristæus the Corinthian, and some Lacedæmonians, intending a Voyage into Persia, to procure Money from the King thereof towards carrying on of the War; went by the way to Sitalces King of Thrace, soliciting him to break with the Athenians, and march with his Army to the relief of Potidea. But the Athenian Ambassadors prevailing with the King to deliver them up, they sent them from thence to Athens, and there threw them into deep Pits without any form of Justice: In return to the Lacedæmonians that had given the like Treatment, to some Athenian Merchants taken off of Peloponnesus. This Winter Potidea was surrendred upon good Conditions,

Peloponnesian War out of Thucydides. 9

Conditions, after the Siege of it had stood the Athenians in 2000. Talents.

375000 l.

The Peloponnesians invested Plataea, which made a brave defence: Whereupon the Lacedæmonians, leaving the Boeotians to maintain the Works, and carry on the Siege, finished their Campaigne. During this Siege the Athenians made War with the Chalcideans, and Bottiæans: But they being relieved from Olynthus, and other places, fought the Athenians, and over-came them, compelling them to retire with their broken Forces to Potidea, and from thence home to Athens. Before the Fleets were laid up, Brasidas, and the other Peloponnesian Admirals resolved to make an Attempt upon the Piræus, which was not well Guarded, because the Athenians were Lords of the Sea, and apprehended no Danger on that side. In order to their Design, they went over Land to Megara, and launch'd some Ships at Nisæa the Port Town thereof, yet ventured not on the Piræus, because they thought that too desperate a Design; but fell upon the three Guardships that lay at Budorum in Salamis over against Megara, and burning them, plundred Salamis, and put the People of Athens into a great Consternation: Who discovered the Beacons on fire. In the

III. Year
of the War
Epaminon-
das Archon.

the beginning of this Winter Sitalces King of Thrace, made War against Perdiccas King of Macedon with an Army of 150000 men, wasting his Country; and caused the People to fly into the Mountains, striking a Terror into all the neighbouring Nations. Which occasioned the Enemies of the Athenians to say, That they had called in such a Confederate, as was likely to become their Master. Phormio the Athenian Admiral returned Victorious with his spoils to Athens.

LIB. III.

IV. Year
Olymp.
LXXXVIII
Diotimus
Archon.

About Harvest time the Peloponnesians invaded Attica, and having destroyed the Corn, returned home again. Soon after this Incurſion Lesbos revolted, and the Athenians being informed, that the People would be assembled at a Feast kept by the Lesbians, in Honour of Apollo Maïois, where they easily might be surpris'd; fitted out 40 Sail of Ships. But the Lesbians having Intelligence thereof prepared to receive them; and sent to Lacedæmon for speedy relief. The Lacedæmonians directed them to Olympia, where the People of Greece were met to celebrate the Games, and there to desire their Assistance against

against the Athenians. The Allies admitted the Lesbians into the League. This Summer the Athenians set out the greatest Fleet they ever had at Sea, consisting of 250 Sail. The Souldiers and Seaman's pay was a Drachma a day, which great expence exhausted the publick Treasure. The Plataeans having been besieged all this while, and in extreme want, above 200 of them prepared Ladders, proportioning their length by the number, and breadth of the Bricks in the Enemies wall, and passing their Works by favour of a stormy Night escaped to Athens.

Early in the Spring the Peloponnesians fell into Attica, and destroyed every thing that had escaped them in former Incurſions. At the same time Alcidas went with a Fleet to relieve Mitylene in Lesbos, which was distressed for want of Provisions; but did not arrive time enough. At last the Lesbians desponding of Succours: Salæthus who had hitherto kept the People disarmed, now gave them Arms with an intent to Sally out upon the Enemy, but the People turned Tail, threatening, that unless they who had Corn would bring it out, and divide it, they would make their Composition, and deliver up the place to the Enemy. The chief Men seeing they could not

7 d. 3 ob.

V. Year
Euclides
Archon.

not resist the Will of the Rabble, and fearing that they themselves should be excluded: Did by an universal Consent treat with Paches the Athenian General, and surrendered upon Discretion. The Authors of the revolt expecting a rude Treatment from the Athenians fled to the Altars; from whence they were taken by force, and sent to Tenedos, where they were kept till they could be conveyed to Athens. Afterwards when they were arrived there, Salæthus the Lacedemonian Governor, and the rest were put to death. A Decree was also made, and sent to Mitylene to do Justice on the rest of the Conspirators, and to make Slaves of the Women, and Children. Which Cruelty, after the Orders were gone, the Athenians repented of; and prevented the Execution of it by sending thither a Countermand: Yet they put above 1000 to Death, that were the Heads of the Conspiracy, and demolished the Walls of Mitylene. About this time the Platæans wanting Provisions, and worn out with a long Siege, were forced to surrender to the Lacedemonians: Who instigated by the Thebans, cruelly put them to Death, and razed the City. The Peloponnesian Fleet going to relieve Lesbos arrived too late, and in their return

hearing

hearing of a Sedition, betwixt the chief Men, and Commons at Corcyra sailed thither hoping to make themselves Masters of it. But tho they beat the Corcyrean, and Athenian Navy, yet they durst not attempt the City, because the People had the better, who committed horrible Outrages, and encouraged several other places in Greece, by their Example to be Seditious; whilst the Peoples Patriots called in the Athenians; and the chief Men, the Lacedemonians. In the beginning of Winter the Athenians sent a Fleet to Sicily, under Charœades, to assist the Leontini against the Syracusians, and the Doric Towns in League with the Lacedemonians. At this time the Plague broke out again at Athens, and consumed such multitudes of People, and Soldiers, that nothing throughout the War was so grievous.

Demosthenes invaded the Ætolians at VII. Eu-
 first with good Success, but afterwards was ^{thydemus} vanquishd, and lost the Flower of the A-
 thenian Army. The Athenians expiated ^{Archon.}
 Delos by Command of the Oracle, and carried all the Tombs out of the Island, ordering that for the Future none should dye, nor any Women be brought to Bed there, but be transported into the Isle Rhe-
 nea. Demosthenes joyning the Açarnani-
 ans

ans, had better Success against the Ambraciot, and overthrew them near Olpæ. This Victory brought him again into Favour, having lost himself before. Upon which there followed a Peace betwixt the Acarnanians, and Ambraciots.

LIB. IV.

VII: Strato-
cles Ar-
chon.

The Athenian Fleet going to Sicily, were ordered in their way to observe how Affairs stood at Corcyra, and by the advice of Demosthenes surprised Pylus in Messene. The Lacedemonians came to recover the place, and Landed in Sphacteria, an Island that lay before Pylus: Intending to block up the Channels, so that no Ships could enter to the relief of those in Pylus. The Athenians at first repulsed them, and after the arrival of their Fleet from Zacynthus, beat them: Obliging the Lacedemonians to deliver sixty Ships, till the return of their Ambassadors from Athens, who went thither to treat of a Peace, and then to be re-delivered. But Cleon a Popular man made such exorbitant Demands, that the Lacedemonians rejected them, and returned. This Cleon, Fool-hardily engaged to take Sphacteria, and had the good Fortune

tune to perform his rash Enterprize. Tho this was accounted as strange, and unexpected an Accident, as any hap'ned during the War; because the Lacedemonians were so well secured in this Island, that they thought none could Force them. From Pylus the Athenian Fleet went to Corcyra, and joyning with them in the City, compelled the Seditious, that had retired to the Hill Ito, and from thence infested the Country, to surrender, and to remain Prisoners till such time as Orders came from Athens about them. But in Case any one of them offered to make his escape, then all were to lose the benefit of the Treaty. The other Corcyreans fearing the Athenians would not do Justice on them, secretly invited some to fly: And thus the Conditions being broken they were all delivered up to the Corcyreans, by whom some of them were cruelly put to Death, and the rest had a very miserable end.

Nicias with his Fleet takes the Island Cythera, a place of great importance, and guarded by the Lacedemonians. The Camarinæans, and Geloans made Truce, and the other Sicilian States invited by this, send their Deputies to treat for a General Peace, which was promoted by Hermocrates the Syracusian. Who shewed the Athenians

VIII.
Olymp.
Lysarchus
Archon.

thenians lay only to watch an Opportunity to master them all, when they were sufficiently weakened, and proved this to be their Design; for that they had banished two Admirals, and fined a third, because they did not oppose the Treaty of Peace. The Magareans deliberating about recalling their Exiles, some resolved rather than they would admit that, to deliver up the City to the Athenians, who accordingly came, but were frustrated of their Design, yet they invested Nisæa the port Town to Megara, and took it. Brasidas hast'ned to the relief of Megara, which kept it self Neuter, till either the Lacedemonians, or Athenians got the better, but when the latter durst not fight they surrendered to the Lacedemonians as Conquerors. After this Brasidas being invited into Thrace by Perdiccas, took his way through Theffaly, and was in Danger to have disputed his Passage for marching through the Territories of those Princes without their leave first obtained. In Thrace several Towns came over to the Lacedemonians upon the Promise of Liberty, and being govern'd by their own Laws. The Athenians fortifying Delium, which was sacred to Apollo, contrary to the Custom of Greece, were beaten by the

Bœotians,

Bœotians, who attempted the recovery of it, and sat down before the place. At length Delium was taken by a new devised Engine, made of a vast great Tard of a Ship, bored through, and plated over with Iron at one end: To which was fixed a pot filled with Sulphur, and other Combustible matter. Then it being applyed to a part of the Wall where dry Vines were, the Besiegers blew with an huge pair of Bellows through the bore of the Tard, and made such a Fire that none was able to keep upon the Wall, or withstand it, and there the Enemy entred the Town. Brasidas took several places in Thrace, and put new Life into the Affairs of the Lacedemonians, rendring the Athenians Contemptible thereby, as if they had not force enough wherewith to oppose them.

Truce was made between the Lacedemonians, and Athenians for a year, yet Scione, and Mende revolted to Brasidas after the making thereof. Which so Irritated the Athenians, that they neglecting the War in all other places, applyed themselves wholly to reduce these two: They took Mende and Besieg'd Scione. Perdiccas disgusted at Brasidas, made a League with the Athenians.

ix.
Amyntas
Archon.

LIB. V.

X. Alcæus
Archon.

Cleon Sailing with the Athenian Fleet to Thrace took Torone; and coming before Amphipolis, which Brasidas defended, he was not able to carry the place, but decamped. The Lacedemonians sallied out, and falling upon them in their Retreat, routed them. In this Shirmish both Generals were slain; Brasidas was carried into the City, and Honorably buried; Anniversary Games were also performed to him, as to an Hero. After the fall of Cleon, and Brasidas, that so stiffly opposed the making of Peace, the Lacedemonians recovered again; and the extraordinary Success of the Athenians, being ballanced by the two defeats at Delium, and Amphipolis, both Parties inclined to an Accommodation. And accordingly a Peace was concluded at the end of Winter, which dissatisfied several of the Lacedemonian Allies.

XI.
Ariston Archon.

Soon after the Peace, the Lacedemonians, and Athenians made a League offensive, and defensive for fifty years: But it was kept only for six years, and ten Months. Yet the War might truly be said to continue for all this League, because neither

Party

Peloponnesian War out of Thucydides. 19

Party performed what they agreed to; the League being broke both in the Mantinean, and Epidaurian Wars. About this time the Truce for thirty years between the Lacedemonians, and Argives expired. Thereupon the Corinthians, and discontented Confederates joyned with the Argives, apprehending the two powerful Republicks had combined to enslave the rest of Greece. The Lacedemonians longing to have Pylus restored, had it intimated by the Athenians, that provided the Bœotians would restore Panactum to them, the Lacedemonians should be re-possessed of Pylus. Yet the Bœotians refused to part with Panactum unless the Lacedemonians would make a private League with them, which they did, tho they knew it was contrary to that they had made with the Athenians; wherein it was provided that no Treaty should be made without the joynt Consent of them both.

The Bœotians having demolished Panactum the last Winter, the Athenians resented it extremely ill, thinking they did it by the Instigation of the Lacedemonians. And therefore meeting with a favourable Conjuncture, they made an Alliance with the Argives, and other Confederates.

xii.
Olymp. XC.
Aristophylus Archon.

XIII.
Archias
Archon.

A War broke out betwixt the Epidaurians, and Argives, because the former refused to send a Victim to Apollo Pythius, whose Temple belonged chiefly to the Care of the Argives. The Argives assisted by the Athenians, made several Incurfions into Epidaurus under the Conduct of Alcibiades.

XIV.
Antiphon
Archon.

The Lacedemonians being Confederated with the Epidaurians, went with a great Army against Argos, and empounded the Argives: when the Battles were ready to joyn, two of their Generals came to Agis, and parlied. At last a Truce was made for four Months, and Agis march'd off with his Army to the Grief of the Souldiers, that had a Prospect of so fair an Advantage, and so great a Spoil. Afterwards the Athenians came with considerable Recruits, and perswaded the Argives to break the Truce, telling them 'twas not good, because it was made without the Privy of the other Confederates. Upon that they besieged Orchomenus in Arcadia, and took it. From thence they went to Tegea, which was relieved by the Lacedemonians, a Battle was fought, the Argives beaten, and a Peace concluded betwixt these two Republicks.

XV.
Euphemus
Archon.

The Argives breaking with the Lacedemonians

demonians made a League with the Athenians, and for fear of the former built Long Walls from their City to the Sea, that they might receive the Assistance of the Athenians on that side. But whilst they were building, the Lacedemonians came with an Army, and razed them.

The Athenians resolving the Melians should acknowledge their Sovereignty as the rest of the Islanders did: Went with a Fleet against Melos. At the coming of a second Army they took the place, put all the men to the Sword, and carried the Women, and Children Captives.

XVII.
Olymp.
XCI.
Aristomaeus
Archon.

LIB. VI.

The Athenians sent a Fleet to Sicily invited thither by the Egestæans, that made War upon the Selinuntians; which latter were aided by the Syracusians, engaging in this Enterprize with so much Precipitation, and hast, that they ne'r examined how great an Island it was, not imagining that it required as great Forces to subdue it, as Peloponnesus.

This year the Athenians Equipped a Fleet of sixty Sail for Sicily under the Admirals Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, whilst these Preparations were making,

XVII.
Chabrias
Archon.

king, the Images of Mercury were defaced; and a Reward proposed to any that would discover the Authors. At length some informed, that Alcibiades had spoiled several Statues. Thereupon his Enemies concluded, he must needs have done the other, inferring it from his free and loose way of Living. Alcibiades profered to take his Tryal upon it, but it was thought fit to let him go the Sicilian Voyage, and if there appeared any Matters against him, to call him to an account afterwards. The whole Fleet met at Corcyra, and thence parted for Sicily, where some time after their arrival, they surpris'd Catana. The Athenians called Alcibiades home to Answer his Charge, for Prophaning the Mysteries, and defacing the Images; whereupon he took Shipping, pretending to Sail for Athens, but going ashore at Thurij, he gave them the slip, and went to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, and Syracusians engaged, but the latter are overcome, and the Athenians wintered at Naxus. Alcibiades coming to Lacedemon in Company of the Sicilian Ambassadors, animated the Lacedemonians against the Athenians: Who thereupon resolve to assist the Syracusians, and send them Supplies under the Command of Gylippus.

The

The Athenians besiege Syracuse, ^{XVIII.}
Lamachus is slain, and the sole Command ^{Pisander}
of the Army devolved to Nicias. Gylippus hastens to the relief of Syracuse, but by reason of the small Force he had, is contemned by Nicias, who took no Care to secure himself against the Attempts of an Enemy. The Athenians by aiding the Argives openly break their League with the Lacedemonians, ^{Archon.}

LIB. VII.

Gylippus arrives at Himera first, and there having made Alliances with several Communities of the Sicilians, went from thence to Syracuse, and coming thither before the Athenians had finished their double Wall about the Town, Lands, and Encamps with his Army. The Syracusians cut off part of the Athenian's Works with a Counter-Wall.

By the advice of Alcibiades, the Lacedemonians entred Attica this Campagne, ^{XIX.}
and fortified Decelea: Which was a place ^{Cleocritus}
of great importance, being distant from Athens about 120 Furlongs and not much more from Bœotia: It could be seen to Athens, and lay very conveniently for making Incurfions. The Syracusians, and ^{Archon.}

C 4

Athenians

Athenians had an Engagement within their great Haven, wherein the former were beaten, but in a second Engagement the Athenians were overcome. After the Plemmyrium was taken, which Commanded the Port, no Provisions could be carried in thither without fighting. Demosthenes, and Eurymedon being sent with a new Army; resolved forthwith upon their arrival to attack Syracuse, which Nicias neglecting to attempt at his first coming, wintered at Naxos, and so came afterwards to be despised. The Athenians by Night Attack'd a part of the City called Epipolæ: And after a confused, and dubious Skirmish, were repulsed by the Syracusians. In this Fight many of the same side through mistake, because it was in the Night, became so earnestly engaged, that they could hardly be parted. After the Fight Demosthenes advised to march away. But Nicias fearing the Athenians at home would not rise up from before the place without their Order: Supposing his own Army was in a better Condition, than the Syracusian, this being now exhausted by the War, and depending chiefly on Mercenaries, who would desert when pay failed. At last he decamped when the Moon was Eclipsed, and by the Priest's directions superstitiously staid twenty seven days.

In

In the mean time Gylippus coming with Recruits from most Parts of Sicily strangely raised the Expectations of the Syracusians: who thereupon engaging the Athenians in the great Haven, beat them, and blockt up the mouth of the Port, which was eight forlongs over, with their Ships astern one another. The Athenians tried their Fortune again, to see if they could break through the Syracusian Fleet, but were beaten a second time, after a very terrible, and desperate Fight; which dejected the Seamen so much, that they could not be perswaded to go on board again, though the Athenians had more Ships fit for Service than the Enemy, but resolved to march away by Land.

Hermocrates suspecting the Enemy's Design, proposed the sending of Forces to take all the difficult Passes, and cut off their Retreat. But the Soldiers for joy of the Victory, and because Hercules his Feast was kept at that time, were so taken up with drinking, and other Diversions, that they could by no means be prevailed with to pursue the Victory. Thereupon Hermocrates sent some to the Athenian Camp, who pretended to be their Friends, and that they came out of kindness to inform them; that the Syracusians had

had possessed themselves of the Passes, and intended to cut off their retreat. The Athenians giving credit to them, did not Decamp till three days after: When Gylippus had really done so; In the Retreat Demosthenes with his part of the Army surrendered upon conditions; but Nicias yielded himself a Prisoner to Gylippus: who had a desire to have saved him, yet being overcome by the importunity of the Army was forced to kill him.

The Athenians were put into the Quarries being miserably treated, and those that survived their hard usage were sold for Slaves. Thus ended the Sicilian War.

LIB. VIII.

The Athenians were unwilling at first to give credit to this great Defeat, but at last being convinced of the truth, became enraged at their Prophets and Priests; who by a Religious Pretext had betrayed them into a vain hope of conquering Sicily. Hereupon the Lacedemonians, and the Confederates exerted their utmost power in carrying on the War. And on the contrary the Athenians would not submit to their misfortune, but resolved to support their Allies, and equip a Fleet. Let many of the Athenians Confederates revolted from them;

them; and the other Greeks, that had hitherto stood Neuter, now longed to come into the War, thinking to make a short cut of it.

A League was concluded between the King of Persia, and the Lacedemonians. The Athenians chased twenty Peloponnesian Ships into the Pireus, and blockt them up; but the latter forcing their passage took four of the Athenians. The Athenians made a Descent near Panormus in the Countrey of the Milesians; where they had a Fight in which Chalciadeus was slain. This Action rendred Alcibiades suspected to the Lacedemonians: so that they sent Astyochus private Orders to dispatch him. But he made his escape to Tissaphernes, and there did the Peloponnesians all the ill Offices he possibly could, perswading him to retrench the Sea-men's pay; and put off those that came to demand Money with this Answer, That they had no reason to expect any from Tissaphernes, because what he did was for their preservation, and that they might as well maintain themselves now as they had done before, whilst they sided with the Athenians.

He advised him also to spin out the War, and let neither side grow too powerful, lest one got the Command of all; whereby the King his Master would want some body

XX. year
of the
War:
Olymp.
Xciii. cal-
lias Ar-
chon.

body to keep the Conquerors under. This Alcibiades did to procure himself to be recalled from Banishment, knowing the favour and respect he had from Tiffaphernes would much promote it. When some came from Samos to have a Conference with him; he told them if he was recalled, he would procure them an Alliance with the King of Persia. Provided also they would reform the Government, and put it into the hands of the Nobles, and such as the King could trust, because the Democracy was administred by ill men.

Phrynichus opposed the recalling Alcibiades, fearing, if he returned, that he would be his Enemy, and sent to Aftyochus the Lacedemonian General, that Alcibiades was treating with Tiffaphernes to bring him over to the Athenian Interest. These Letters were conveyed to Alcibiades, which being returned to Samos, brought Phrynichus into extreme danger. But he to prevent it, dispatched other Letters to Aftyochus, informing him, that he himself would betray the whole Army to him, discovering how it might be surprized, and that Samos was not walled. Aftyochus sent Alcibiades these Letters likewise, which Phrynichus understanding resolv'd to prevent this danger too, and acquainted

quainted the Army, that he was assured the Lacedemonians would attack them, and therefore he would have them fortifie Samos with all Expedition.

These Letters came afterwards to the Camp, but Phrynichus so wrought with the Army, that no credit was given to Alcibiades, supposing he had only guessed at things by foresight. At length there came Deputies from the Samians, and informed the Athenians, how great an Ascendant Alcibiades had over Tiffaphernes, and that if he was recalled, he was capable of doing them Service, whereupon Pisander prevailed that himself and ten more should be sent to treat with Tiffaphernes, and Alcibiades. Xxi. Year
of the
War.

Pisander returned to Athens, where he and Theramenes the Son of Agnon, changed Theopom-
pus. Archen. the Democracy into a Government of 400 men. Thrasylbulus proposing to the Army at Samos, that Alcibiades should be recalled, they both restored, and gave him his pardon. Whereupon he went and conducted him to Samos, and soon after his arrival he was chosen General. He being advanced to this new Preferment, went to show himself to Tiffaphernes, and to let him know that he was now in a condition either to serve, or incommode him. After Alcibiades returned home, the Peloponnesians

nesians began to suspect Tissaphernes, and talk hard of him.

About that time a Mutiny hapned in the Lacedemonian Army, proceeding to such a degree, that the Soldiers had like to have killed Aftyochus their General. Soon after Mindarus succeeded Aftyochus in his Command. Hegesandridas came about that time from Megara with the Peloponnesian Fleet, intending to make some attempt upon the Athenians, whilst they were in Tumult and Confusion. The Athenians fearing he would fall upon Eubœa, on which they chiefly depended, sent out Thymochares with a Fleet, who was betrayed by the Eretrians, and beaten, upon which the loss of Eubœa followed. When they heard this, they set out another Fleet, and deposing the 400 chose 5000 into the Government. After this change the Athenians came to themselves, and put things into order. Pisander and all the 400 retired to Decelea, except Aristarchus who went to Oenoe, and betrayed it to the Bœotians. Towards the end of Summer Thrafsylus, and Thrafsybulus the Athenian Admirals engaged with Mindarus, and overcame him, which was welcome News to them at Athens, who before dreaded the Peloponnesians, and never expected such good Success again. *Xenophon's*

XENOPHON'S History

OF THE

Affairs of Greece.

L I B. I.

THE CONTENTS.

A Fight between the Lacedemonians and Athenians, in which Mindarus the Lacedemonian Admiral is slain. Hermocrates and the Syracusan Admirals are banished by the People. Alcibiades returns from Exile, and is made Generalissimo: He leaves his Fleet under the Command of Antiochus his Captain; who in his Absence engages with Lysander, and is beaten; which ruined Alcibiades.

biades. *The great Sea-fight near Arginusæ, wherein the Lacedemonians were vanquished, and Callicratidas their Admiral slain. The Athenian Admirals are tried for not taking up their men in the Fight, unjustly condemned, and put to death.*

NOT many Days after this *Thymochares* coming with a small Fleet from *Athens*, forthwith the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians* had another Engagement; wherein the former commanded by *Hegesandridas* obtained the Victory. A little while after in the beginning of Winter, *Dorieus* the Son of *Diagoras* came up the *Hellepont* by break of day, with fourteen Sail from *Rhodes*: which when the *Athenian* Day-scout discovered, he made his Sign to the Admirals, and they bore up to him with twenty Sail; upon that *Dorieus* fled, and having * doubled *Cape Rhæteum* haled up his Gallies ashore: When the *Athenians* came up close to him, he fought them both from on board his Ships, and from the Shore, till they not having effected any thing, stood off to the rest of their Fleet at *Madytus*.

* *Hvovizē*, to come out of a Haven or freight into Sea-room. *Virgil* uses *aperitur* for a Sea-term, *Æn.* 111. v. 275.

Mindarus

Mindarus seeing the Fight, as he was sacrificing at *Ilium* to *Minerva*, ran with great diligence to the Sea-shore, and launching his Gallies set sail to joyn *Dorieus*. The *Athenians* bore up with him near *Abydus*, and engaged him by the Shore from Morning till Night. Whilst the Fight continued dubious, *Alcibiades* came in with eighteen Sail, upon which the *Peloponnesians* fled to *Abydus*, whither *Pharnabazus* came to their Assistance, and entering the Sea on Horseback, as far as he was able, fought, and encouraged his Horse and Foot to do the like. The *Peloponnesians* joyned their Ships together, and drawing up in a Body fought from off the Shore. At last the *Athenians* departed with thirty empty Ships they had taken from the Enemy, and those of their own they had formerly lost, and carried them to *Sestos*. From thence all but forty sailed for several Parts without the *Hellepont* to collect Tribute; and *Thrasylus* one of the *Athenians* went to *Athens* to carry the News, and to demand Supplies of Men and Ships.

After this *Tissaphernes* arrived at the *Hellepont*, whither *Alcibiades* came with one Gally, to bring him Gifts and Presents; but *Tissaphernes* seized him,

D

and

The Greeks
called the
Persian
Monarch
Βασιλεὺς
by way of
Excellence.

The Ancients being
they used
to Stem
one another
Ships had

no occasion for their Main-sails in time of Fight; But made use of their Oars only: So that they left these Sails ashore when they went to engage, keeping only the lesser Sails for any extraordinary occasion, *Schofferus de Mil. Nav. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.*

and clapt him up at *Sardes*, telling him, that he had Orders from the King to make War upon the *Athenians*. Thirty days after, he, and *Mantitheus*, that had been taken Prisoner in *Caria*, having procured themselves good Horses made their escape by Night to *Clazomenæ*. In the mean while the *Athenians* having intelligence at *Sestos*, that *Mindarus* was coming to fall upon them with sixty Sail, fled to *Cardia*. At the same time also *Alcibiades* went thither with five Gallies, and a *Brigandine* from *Clazomenæ*; and hearing that the *Peloponnesian* Fleet was sailed from *Abydus* to *Cyzicus*, he ordered his Ships to sail about to *Sestos*, and went thither himself by Land. After the Fleet arrived, when he was just going out to engage, *Theramenes* came in with twenty Sail from *Macedone*, and at the same time *Thrasylbulus* with twenty more from *Thasus* both having been collecting tribute. *Alcibiades* commanded them to take off their Main-sails and follow him, going himself to *Parium*, where the whole Fleet being joyned consisted of eighty six Ships, and setting sail the

Night

Night following, he arrived the day after about Noon at *Præconnesus*.

There they heard that *Mindarus*, and *Pharnabazus* with his Land-forces were at *Cyzicus*; whereupon they staid a day in that place: The day following *Alcibiades* called a Council of War, and encouraged his men, telling them, that an absolute necessity obliged them to fight the Enemies Fleet by Sea, their Army by Land, and to attack their fortified Places: For (says he) we have no mony, with which the Enemy is plentifully supplied from the King of *Persia*. The day before, when the Ships were brought into Harbour, and he had gotten all the small Vessels about him, he made Proclamation, lest the Enemy should be informed what number of Ships he had; that whoever was taken crossing to the other side, should be put to death. After the Council of War, he prepared for an Engagement, and set sail to *Cyzicus* in foul weather. As he approacht near the place, it cleared up, and the Sun breaking out, he discovered sixty of *Mindarus* his Ships exercising at a great distance from the Port, to which he had now cut off their Retreat. The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenian* Gallies were far more nume-

D d

rous

rous than before, and near the Port, made to Land, and having run their Ships in, fought the Enemy as they came to attack them. In the mean while *Alcibiades* sailing about with twenty Ships, landed; which *Mindarus* seeing, landed too, and fought till he was slain. Upon this his men fled, and the *Athenians* carried off all the Enemy's Ships to *Præconesus*, except those of *Syracuse*, which the *Syracusians* themselves had burnt.

The day after the *Athenians* failed from thence to *Cyzicus*: which being deserted by the *Peloponnesians*, and *Pharnabazus*, the People of *Cyzicus* received the *Athenians* into their City. Here *Alcibiades* staid twenty days, and having procured a good Sum from the *Cyziceni*ans, without farther harm done to the City, failed to *Præconesus*, thence to *Perinthus*, and *Selymbria*. The *Perinthians* received his Army into the City, but the *Selymbrians* gave money, and kept them out. From thence he went to *Chrysopolis* in the Neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, and fortified it, erecting a Toll-house there to take Tenths of the Ships, that came from *Pontus*. Here he left a Guard of thirty Ships, under two Admirals *Theramenes*, and *Eubulus*: who were to secure the Town, and Ships

Ships that came from *Pontus*; and to do the Enemy what mischief they could. The other Admirals went for the *Hellespont*.

Hippocrates Mindarus his Vice-Admiral sent Letters to *Lacedemon* which were intercepted, and carried to *Athens*: The Contents were, *All is Gone*; *Mindarus is lost*; *Our Men want Provisions*; *What to do we cannot tell*. *Pharnabazus* cheered up the Army of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Syracusians*, giving every one a Coat and two Months pay; and telling them, that since the men were safe, they should not be disheartned for the loss of a little Wood, which the King *His Master's* Country had good store of. Besides he armed the Sea-men, and set them to guard the Coast of his Province; then calling the Governours of the Cities, and Sea-Captains together, he gave them money, and ordered them to build as many Gallies at *Antandrus*, as they had lost, and bid them fetch Timber from Mount *Ida*. Whilst the Ships were building, the *Syracusians* helpt the *Antandrians* to finish part of their Wall, behaving themselves better therein, than any of the Garison; for which reason the *Syracusians* have Priviledges, and Freedom at *Antandrus*.

Pharnabazus having settled his Affairs in this manner, went immediately with Succours to *Chalcedon*.

XXII.
Year of
the 80^r
Olympiads
423.

About this time News came to the *Syracusan* Admirals, that they were banisht by the Populacy. Upon which they called their Soldiers together, and *Hermocrates* made a Speech in the Name of the rest, deploring their hard Fortune, and protesting they were banisht contrary to all Law, and Justice. Advising them, that as they had heretofore, so they would for the future, upon all occasions, obey their Commanders, and that they would chuse new Officers till the arrival of those, that were nominated in their stead. The Souldiers especially the Captains of Gallies, Masters, and Sea-men cried out that they should continue in their Commands. On the other hand the Admirals told them they ought not to mutiny against the Government: But if any impeacht *the said Admirals*, then ye may (said they) recount and reckon up the Sea-fights ye have won, the Ships ye have taken your selves, and how often with others under our Conduct, ye have been victorious; we having had for our own Conduct and your Courage the most honourable place in Battel both at Sea and Land.

Land. No body laid any thing to their charge, and they at the entreaty of the Soldiers continued in their Command till the arrival of those that were chosen in their stead; who were *Demarchus* the Son of *Pidocus*, *Mysco* the Son of *Menecrates*, and *Potamis* the Son of *Gnosias*. When most of the Captains of the Gallies had sworn to repeal their Banishment, as soon as they themselves returned to *Syracuse*, they commended, and dismissed them; giving them leave to go whither they would: Yet they had a private Conference with *Hermocrates*, whom they highly admired for his Diligence, Courage, and Affability. For every Morning and Evening, he assembled in his Cabin such as he knew to be the ablest men amongst the Captains of Gallies, Masters, and Sea-men; and there communicated to them, whatsoever he intended to say or do; Instructing, and bidding them give present advice upon some matters, and deliberate upon others. By this *Hermocrates* got great credit at the Council of War, having the reputation of the best Orator, and ablest Councillor. The same *Hermocrates*, when he accused *Tissaphernes* at *Lacedemon*, was believed upon his own credit, though *Astyochnus* came in as a

joynt witness, and got money of *Pharnabazus*, when he went to him, before he askt it; with which he provided Men, and Ships for his return to *Syracuse*.

In the mean while the Successors of the *Syracusan* Admirals arrived at *Miletus*, and took the Command both of the Fleet, and Army. Near the same time a Sedition hapning at *Thasus*, the *Lacedemonian* Party with their Governour *Eteonicus* a *Lacedemonian* was driven out; and *Pasippidas* a *Lacedemonian* being accused for compassing it by *Tissaphernes* his help, was banisht *Sparta*. *Cratesippidas* was sent to the Fleet, which *Pasippidas* had got together from the Allies, and took the Command of it at *Chius*. It hapned, that whilst *Thrasyllus* was at *Athens*, *Agis* came out of *Decelea* to forage, and advanc't as far as the very Walls of the place: Whereupon *Thrasyllus* marching out with the *Athenians*, and all the Forreigners that were in the City, drew up in *Battalia* beside the *Lyceum*, and resolv'd to fight him, if he advanc't any farther. When *Agis* saw that, he retreated hastily, and lost some of his Rear, that were cut off by the Light-arm'd men.

This Action made the *Athenians* more favourable

A School
in which
Aristotle
taught.

favourable to *Thrasyllus* in the Affair he came about; insomuch that they decreed he should raise a thousand Heavy armed men, a hundred Horse, and set out fifty Gallies. *Agis* discovering from *Decelea* a Fleet of Corn Ships * running up the † *Piræus*, cried it was in vain for him to spend so much time in blocking up the *Athenians* by Land, unless their Provisions were cut off, that came by Sea: so that it would be the best way to send *Clearchus* the Son of *Ramphius* the * Publick Host of the *Byzantines*, to *Chalcedon*, and *Byzantium*. This advice being approved of, he parted with fifteen Sail fitted out by the *Megareans*, and other Confederates, that were Ships fitter for † Burthen than Service. Three of which were destroyed in the *Hellepont* by the nine *Athenian* Guard-Ships that continually observed what Ships passed that way; the rest fled to *Sestos*, and got safe from thence to *Byzantium*.

Καταδ' ορτα.

The Port Town to Athens

joyned to the City by two long walls.

* Προξενος, One that took care of Strangers and Embassadors to provide them reception, hereby contracting an intimacy with those they entertain'd, and so becoming the fitter Persons for Embassadors. *Pollux*.

† Στεγνιωνες, are opposed to ταξιαι, that are used for Men of War; the other being made to transport Soldiers in, and to be Tenders to the Fleet.

Thus the year ended wherein the *Carthaginians* under *Hannibal* their General invaded

XXIII.

Year of the War.
Diocles Archon.

invaded *Sicily* with an Army of an hundred thousand men, and took in three Months time *Selinus* and *Himera*, two Cities that were Greek Colonies. The Year following * the *Athenians* fortified *Thoricus*, and *Thrasylus* taking the Ships that were ordered him, armed five thousand Sea-men with Targets, that they might serve for Targetiers, as he saw occasion; and parted for *Samos* the beginning of Summer, where having staid three days, he sailed from thence to *Pygela*. Here he destroyed the Countrey, and made an attempt upon the Town. Where some from *Miletus* coming to assist the *Pygeleans*, persued the Straglers of the *Athenian* Light-armed men: but the Targetiers, and two Companies of Heavy-armed men succouring their Light-armed, killed most of the *Milesians*, and taking about two hundred Shields erected a Trophy. The day after they sailed to *Notium*, and there having made preparations for their Voyage went to *Colophon*, the People whereof came over to them, and the same Night they fell into *Lydia*, when the Corn was ripe, burning several Villages, and got many Slaves, and a very great Booty. *Stages* the *Persian* being in those Parts, and assisted by
a Body

* Which was the 93 Olympiad, in which *Evagoras* the *Elean* was Victor with the Chariot added by *Alemaeon*, *Eubotas* the *Cyrenean* won the foot Race, *Evarchipus* was *Ephorus* of *Sparta*, and *Euctemon* Archon of *Athens*, vid. the end of the seventh Book.

a Body of Horse took one of their men Prisoner, and killed seven more; the *Athenians* in the mean while being stragled from their Camp, and every one intent upon his own Spoil. Afterwards *Thrasylus* marcht off with his men to the Seaside, and made shew as if he would sail to *Ephesus*; but *Tissaphernes* suspecting his Design drew a strong Body of men together, and sent away the Horse, commanding them all to go to *Ephesus*, and protect the Goddess *Diana*.

The 17 Day after this Incursion *Thrasylus* sailed to *Ephesus*, and landed his Heavy-armed men at *Coreffus*; but the Horse, Targetiers, Sea-men, and all the rest of his Forces he landed at the *Marsh* on the other side of the Town, and advanc't by break of day with his Army in two Bodies. On the other hand the People of *Ephesus*, the Auxiliaries commanded by *Tissaphernes*, the *Syracusans* from on board the first twenty Ships, those also from on board the other five that lately arrived with the Admirals *Eucles* the Son of *Hippo*, and *Heraclides* the Son of *Aristogenes*, and the two *Selinuntians*, uniting all their Forces against the Enemy, set first upon the Heavy-armed men at *Coreffus*. Where having killed about an
hundred,

hundred, they routed and pursued the rest to the Sea-side, and afterwards turned upon those that were posted at the *Marsh*.

Here also the *Athenians* fled, and near three hundred of them were destroyed, for which the *Ephesians* erected a Trophy at each place, and gave Rewards both from the Publick, and from private hands to several *Syracusians*, and *Selinuntians* that had behaved themselves with bravery, as also Immunities from Taxes for ever to any of their Countrey that would live amongst them, and gave the *Selinuntians* freedom of their City, in consideration that they had lost their Countrey. The *Athenians* made Truce to fetch off their slain, and sailed to *Notium* where they buried them; and so went to *Lesbos*, and the *Hellepont*. As they were going into Port at *Mithymna* in *Lesbos*, they discovered twenty five Sail of *Syracusians* passing by from *Ephesus*, and bearing up to them they took four, men and all, and chased the rest to *Ephesus*. *Thrasylus* sent all the Prisoners to *Athens*, but ston'd *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, Cousin to his Namesake, and Companion in Exile. From thence he sailed to the rest of the Fleet at *Sestos*, and

and there transported the whole Army to *Lampsacus*.

Now the Winter was coming on, wherein the *Syracusan* Prisoners that were kept in the *Piræan* Quarries digging through the Rock, and making their escape by Night, got some to *Decelea*, and the rest to *Megara*. When *Alcibiades* made a General Muster of his Forces at *Lampsacus*, the old Soldiers who had ne'r been beaten, refused to be marshalled with *Thrasylus* his men, for that these had been foyled. Yet all had their Winter Quarters together, and having fortified *Lampsacus* they made an attempt upon *Abydus*: to the Relief of which *Pharnabazus* came with a strong Body of Horse but was beaten, and put to flight. *Alcibiades* pursued him with his Horse, and an hundred and ten Heavy-armed men commanded by *Menander*, till the Night parted them. After this Fight the Soldiers became good Friends with *Thrasylus* his men, and embraced them.

This Winter they made several Incursions up into the Continent, and wasted the King of *Persia* his Country. About the same time, the *Lacedemonians* dismissed upon safe Conduct those Slaves that had deserted at *Malea*, and fled to *Coryphæum*

um Much about that time also the *Achæans* betrayed the Colony of *Heraclea Trachinia*, when they stood in Battle against the *Oeteans* their common Enemies, so that near seven hundred were killed, amongst which was *Labotes* of *Lacedemon* the Governour. Thus ended the Year in which the *Medes* rebelled against *Darius* King of the *Persians*, and returned not long after to their Allegiance again.

xxiv. Olymp.
Xcii. Eusebius
Armenian
Chron.
Agæon was
the Governour
of a place,
and a General
that was sent
upon an expedi-
tion. And an
Officer like the
Dictator
Cragius.
Prestor
Plin. 2. l.
50. c.

The Year following the Temple of *Minerva* at *Phocæa* was consumed by * Lightning in a most violent Storm. After the Winter was past, and 22 years of the War elapsed: the *Athenians* early in the Spring sailed with their whole Fleet to *Præconnesus*, and going from thence to *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, they besieged the former. The *Chalcedonians*, when they received Intelligence that the *Athenians* were coming upon them, deposited their Goods in the hands of the *Thracian Bithynians* their Neighbours. But *Alcibiades*, took a Body of Heavy-armed men and Horse, ordering the Ships to coast along, and marching to the *Bithynians* demanded the *Chalcedonians* Goods, threatening to treat them as Enemies, unless they were delivered, and deliver them they did.

After

Afterwards *Alcibiades* having made a League with them, and carried his Booty to the Camp, he employed his whole Army, and encompassed *Chalcedon* with a Wall from Sea to Sea, and made a Boom cross the River. There *Hippocrates* the Governour a *Lacedemonian* drew his Forces out of the Town to engage the *Athenians*, and they faced him. In the meanwhile *Pharnabazus* came with his Infantry, and a strong Party of Horse, from without the Works to relieve the besieged. *Hippocrates* and *Thrasylus* each of them engaged with their Heavy-armed men a considerable time, till *Alcibiades* came to his relief with his Heavy-armed men, and Horse. *Hippocrates* was killed, and his men fled back into the Town. At the same time *Pharnabazus* having not been able to joyn him by reason of the strait Pass over the River, and the Works that were just by, retired to his Camp near *Hercules* his Temple in the Countrey of the *Chalcedonians*.

A while after *Alcibiades* going to the *Hellepont*, and *Chersonese* to raise money; the other Generals made this Stipulation with *Pharnabazus* about *Chalcedon*. That he should give the *Athenians* twenty Talents, and conduct their Ambassadors to the

An Attic
Talent is
6000
Drachma's
Pollux. i.e.
187 l. 10
s. Sterling,
the Total
3750 l.

the King *his Master*. Thereupon they swore to each other that the *Chalcedonians* should pay the *Athenians* the usual Tribute, and what was due beside; on the contrary that the *Athenians* should not make War upon the *Chalcedonians*, till the Ambassadors from the King of *Persia* should arrive. *Alcibiades* was not present at the Ratification of the Treaty, but sat down before *Selymbria*; which he took, and marcht to *Byzantium* with the whole Strength of the *Chersonites*, *Thracian* Soldiers, and above three hundred Horse. *Pharnabazus* tarr yed at *Chalcedon* in expectation of *Alcibiades* from *Byzantium*, because he would have him take the Oath; but when he came not thither, *Pharnabazus* refused to be sworn, unless *Alcibiades* was sworn too. *Alcibiades* took the Oath afterwards at *Chryso-polis*; before *Metrobates*, and *Arnapes*, *Pharnabazus* his Deputies. *Pharnabazus* not only took the Oath for the Peace before *Euryptolemus*, and *Diotimus*, *Alcibiades* his Commissioners at *Chalcedon*; but made likewise a private Agreement there between himself, and *Alcibiades*.

After this *Pharnabazus* departed immediately, and ordered the Ambassadors that were going to the King of *Persia* to meet him

him at *Cyzicus*. There were of the *Athenians* *Dorotheus*, and *Philodocus*, and with these *Cleostratus* and *Pyrrholochus* the *Argives*. There went of the *Lacedemonians*, *Pasippidas*, and others; besides these there went *Hermocrates* who was lately banish't *Syracuse*, and his Brother *Proxenus*.

In the mean time, whilst *Pharnabazus* conducted the Ambassadors, the *Athenians* besieged *Byzantium*, and after they had built a Wall round the place, they made some light Skirmishes, and advanced up to the Walls of the City. There were in *Byzantium* *Clearchus* the Governour a *Lacedemonian* with some of the Neighbourhood, a small Party of Half-Slaves, the *Megareans* commanded by *Elixus* their Countryman, and the *Bæotians* by *Cyratadas*. The *Athenians* not being able to effect any thing by force, perswaded some of the *Byzantines* to betray the City. *Clearchus* the Governour not suspecting any would attempt it, put things in the best order he could, and leaving *Cyratadas* and *Elixus* to command, went over the Water to *Pharnabazus* to receive pay for his Soldiers, and to get together the Ships in the *Hellespont*, with the Guard Ships *Pasippidas* had left, those at *Antan-*

Naxos and *Selymbria*, those that were made free like the *Liber-tinus Miles*; &c. &c.

drus, as also them that *Hegesandridas*, *Mindarus* his Vice-Admiral had on the Coast of *Thrace*, and to build more; that he might infest the *Athenian* Allies with this Fleet, and so divert the Army from *Byzantium*.

When *Clearchus* had set sail, *Cydo*, *Aristo*, *Anaxcrates* and *Lycurgus*, that were to betray *Byzantium* having all things in a readiness opened the *Thracian* Gate in the Night, and let in *Alcibiades* with his Army. *Anaxilaus* also was one of these Traytors, and was after tryed for this Treason at *Lacedemon*, but acquitted, for that he was a *Byzantine*, and not a *Lacedemonian*; and it appeared, he did not so much betray the Town, as preserve the lives of those in it. For when he saw the Women and Children ready to starve, because *Clearchus* had given what Corn there was in the City to the *Lacedemonian* Soldiers: he pleaded that he received in the Enemies for this reason, and not for love of their money, or out of hatred to the *Lacedemonians*. *Elixus* and *Cyratadas* who knew nothing of the matter, came with their whole strength to the Market-place, but the Enemy having possessed themselves of all the Posts, and they being not able to make any resistance, yielded

yielded themselves Prisoners, and were sent to *Athens*, where *Cyratadas* stole privately away in the Crowd that was going ashore at the *Piræus*, and got safe to *Decelea*.

In the mean while *Pharnabazus*, and ^{xxv.} the Ambassadors that wintered at *Gordium* in *Phrygia*, heard what had past at ^{Year Artigenes Athen.} *Byzantium*; and as they were going to the King of *Persia* in the beginning of Spring they met *Bæotius* and his Colleagues, the *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors, in company of some other Envoys on their way from *Asia*. These reported that the *Lacedemonians* had obtained all their Demands of the King, that *Cyrus* had Orders to assist them, and was to be Governor of all the Maritime Provinces, and that he had brought Letters under the Broad Seal to the People of *Asia Minor*, ^{Βολιαις} to this Effect. I send *Cyrus*, to be ^{σφεραμα- ντα} *Caranus* of those Forces that Rendezvous at *Castolus*; *Caranus* is Generalissimo. ^{Κύριος} The *Athenian* Ambassadors when they heard this, and had seen *Cyrus*, were very earnest to go to the King, or else return home. But *Cyrus* commanded *Pharnabazus* to deliver them up to him; at least not to let them go home, being unwilling the *Athenians* should understand what had passed.

passed. *Pharnabazus* detained the Ambassadors, and that he might not be blamed, he sometimes gave out that he would conduct them to the King, and other whiles that he would send them home. At three years end he entreated *Cyrus* to permit them to depart, telling him, he had obliged himself by Oath to convoy them as far as the Sea, if he could not bring them to the King. At last they sent them to *Ariobarzanes*, and commanded him to conduct them, who convoyed them as far as *Cius* in *Misia*, from whence they sailed to the *Athenian* Fleet.

Alcibiades having a desire to return home, went immediately with the Army to *Samos*, and taking twenty Ships from thence, set sail for the Gulf of *Ceramicus* in *Caria*; where he raised an hundred Talents and returned to *Samos* again. *Thrasybulus* went with thirty Sail to *Thrace*, and, amongst other Places that had revolted from the *Athenians*, took in *Thasus*, which was reduced to a miserable condition by War, Sedition, and Famine. *Thrasybulus* set sail with the rest of the Fleet for *Athens*; before whose Arrival they had nominated for Admirals, *Alcibiades* that was in Exile, *Thrasybulus* who was

287501.

was abroad, and for a third, *Conon*, one of those that were at home.

Alcibiades returns from Banishment.

In the mean while *Alcibiades* went from *Samos* with the money, and twenty Sail of Shipsto *Parus*. From whence he stood directly to *Gytheum* to make discovery of the thirty Gallies, which he heard the *Lacedemonians* were fitting out there, and to learn, whether he should be recalled home, and how the Government stood affected towards him. When he understood they were well inclined, having chosen him General, and sent for his Friends in private; he returned up the *Piræus* the day the *Plynteria* were kept, and *Minerva's* Image covered, which some presaged would prove unfortunate both to his Country, and himself. For no *Athenian* dares undertake any thing of moment that day.

A Feast in honour of *Minerva*, wherein the Ornaments were taken off the Image, and the Image covered, esteemed an unfortunate day, *Plut.* in *Alcib*, the like Feast was at *Argos* *callim.*

When he arrived, all the People flock'd out of the *Piræus*, and City to the Ships, admiring and longing to see *Alcibiades*, crying, He was the bravest man of their Country, that he only was declared to have been unjustly banished, being circumvented by those that were of less Abilities and Eloquence than himself, and that served themselves of the Government. That he always promoted the

good of the Commonwealth, not only with the Publick Stock, but his private Fortune. That having been impeached for prophaning the Holy Mysteries, he desired to come immediately to his Trial, yet his Enemies, though his Request seemed just, put it off till another time, and when he was absent, banished him. In the mean while, he being compelled to a servile compliance, and forced to caress his greatest Enemies, was continually in danger of his Life; and though he saw the miscarriages of State, yet was rendered incapable by his Exile of serving his dearest Friends, and Countrymen. Such a man as he (said they) needed no Innovations, nor change of Government, but that he could prefer himself by the favour of the People, before any of his years, and not come short of those that were older; and appear the same man to his Enemies, that he was before. These when they had gotten any power, ruined the best of men, and though none but themselves were left *in the Government*, yet they were respected by the People for no other reason, but because they wanted better to employ.

On the contrary, others said, that he was the sole cause of their former evils,
and

and that none but he durst attempt such things, as could endanger the Government. *Alcibiades* did not land immediately upon his Arrival, for fear of his Enemies, but getting upon Deck, looked if any of his Friends were there, and when he saw *Euryptolemus* the Son of *Pisanax* his Cousin with divers of his Relations, and Friends, he landed, and went up into the City accompanied with those that were ready to have prevented any Affront, that might be offered. He made his Defence before the Senate and Assembly; that he had not profaned the Holy Mysteries, but was tradured, with more to the same purpose.

The Assembly suffering none to contradict him, declared him *Generalissimo* of all their Forces, as one that could maintain the former Grandeur of his Countrey. Then he drew out the whole Army, and celebrated the *Eleusinian* Mysteries upon the account of the War at Land, which the *Athenians* for fear of the Enemy performed at Sea. After this he made a levy of fifteen hundred Heavy-armed men, an hundred and fifty Horse, and equip't an hundred Sail of Ships.

The third Month after his return he went against *Andros* which had revolted

Son of
Leucorophi-
des.

from the *Athenians*. There were joyn-
ed with him *Adimantus*, and *Aristocra-
tes*, Generals at Land. *Alcibiades* put-
ting his men ashore at *Gaurium* a place
in *Andros*, routed the *Andrians* when
they came with their Succors, and shut
the besieged up in the Town, having slain
others besides the *Lacedemonians* that
were there. Whereupon he erected a
Trophy, and staying several days in that
place he went to *Samos*, and made that
the Seat of the War.

Ὁρμήδης
ἱπποπό-
της.

The *Lacedemonians*, *Cratesippidas* his
Commission being expired, sent *Lysander*
Admiral, who arriving at *Rhodes*, and
taking with him the Fleet from thence
sailed to *Cos* and *Miletus*, and next to *E-
phesus*, where he lay with seventy Sail
till *Cyrus* came to *Sardes*. Upon his
arrival, he went with the *Lacedemonian*
Ambassadors to *Cyrus*, and complained
of *Tissaphernes*, desiring him that he
would apply himself vigorously to the
War. *Cyrus* told them he had received
such Orders from his Father, and that he
was fully resolved to execute them.
He farther acquainted them, that he had
brought five hundred Talents with him,
and if that were not enough, he would
make use of his own mony which his Fa-
ther

937; 0 lib.

ther had given him; and if all this was
not sufficient he would make mony of the
Throne he sat on, which was all Silver
and Gold. They liked this very well,
and advised him to give every Sea-man
an *Attic* * *Drachma* a piece for their pay,
shewing that if they had so much, the
Athenian Sailers would desert the Ser-
vice, and so his expences would be the
less. He told them what they said was
well, but that he could not go contrary
to the King's Orders, and that by the
Treaty the *Lacedemonians* were to re-
ceive thirty † *Mina's* a Month for every
Ship they kept out.

καρνε-
ται, to
stamp mo-
ney.

* 7 d. ob.
English,
for it was
exchanged
for the Ro-
man *Denar-
ius*, and
the *Latins*
turn the
sums of
Drachma's;
into *De-
niers*.

† A *Mina*
contains
100 *Drach-
ma's*, *Pol-
lux*, that is
3 l. 2 s. 6 d.
Tot. 93 l.
15 s.

* Is five
farthings,
or the
sixth part
of a *Drach-
ma*, *Pollux*.

Lysander made no reply at that time,
but after Supper when *Cyrus* drank to
him, and asked him in what he could ob-
lige him most, he made answer; if you'll
raise every Sea-man's pay an * *Obolus*;
which was accordingly done, and from
that time their pay was four *Oboli*,
whereas before it was but three. He also
paid them their Arrears, and gave them
a Months pay Advance, which made the
Sea-men far more couragious. The *A-
thenians* were quite disheartned when
they heard this; and sent Ambassadors
through *Tissaphernes* his means to *Cyrus*,
but he would not receive them though
desired

desired by *Tissaphernes*: who told him that *Alcibiades* his Advice to him was to take care that none of the *Greeks* should grow powerful, but be kept weakned by their Divisions. *Lysander* having settled Affairs thus in the Fleet, and haled up his ninety Gallies ashore in the Port of *Ephesus*, lay still refitting them, and refreshing his men.

Alcibiades
falls into
Disgrace.

Alcibiades hearing *Thrasylbulus* was gone without the *Hellepont* to fortifie *Phocæa*, went after him, and left the Fleet under the Command of *Antiochus* his Captain, charging him not to come near *Lysander*. Yet *Antiochus* went himself and another Ship from *Notium* to the Port of *Ephesus*, and sailed close under the very Stems of *Lysander's* Ships. *Lysander* at first Launched a few Ships to give him chase, but after the *Athenians* came in with a stronger Squadron to relieve *Antiochus*, he drew up the whole Fleet in good order, and bore up to the Enemy. Then the *Athenians* lanch't the rest of their Gallies at *Notium*, and coming up as fast as every one of them could get Sea-room, they engaged forthwith; the *Lacedemonians* fought in good order, the *Athenians* with a scattered Fleet, until they had lost fifteen Sail, and then

Lysander's
Victory.

then they fled. Most of the men escaped, except some few that were taken Prisoners. *Lysander* took the Ships along with him, and having erected a Trophy, sailed to *Ephesus*. The *Athenians* went to *Samos*; to which place *Alcibiades* coming afterwards, went with his whole Fleet from thence to the Port of *Ephesus*, and drew up before the mouth of it, to see if any would come out to engage. But when *Lysander* refused to come out, because he was much inferiour to the other in number of Ships, he sailed to *Samos*.

A while after the *Lacedemonians* took *Delphinium* and *Eion*. When the News of the Fight was brought to *Athens*; the *Athenians* were very much incens'd against *Alcibiades*, supposing he had lost the Fleet through carelessness, and ill Conduct. And therefore they chose ten new Admirals. *Alcibiades* having gotten the ill will of the Fleet took one Gally, and went to his Fort in the *Chersonese*. After this *Conon* went by the Decree of the *Athenians* with the twenty Sail he had brought from *Andros*, to the Fleet at *Samos*; to which place *Phanosthenes* was sent with four Gallies in his stead. He in his way thither light upon two *Thuri-*

Agætes,
Conon,
Diomedon,
Leo, *Pericles*, *Erafides*, *Aristocrates*,
Archestratus, *Protomachus*,
Thrasylus,
Aristogenes.

an Gallies, and took them men and all. The *Athenians* bound all the Prisoners except their Commander *Dorieus*, whom they out of pity dismiss ransom-free: He then lived at *Thurii*, but was a *Rhodian*, and had been banish't *Rhodes*, as he was also from *Athens*, where he and his Relations were condemned to death. *Conon* arriving at *Samos*, and finding the Fleet in a very ill condition, made it up seventy Sail instead of the former that consisted of above an hundred. He also took along with him the other Admirals, and putting to Sea, made several Descents, and harassed the Enemy's Countrey.

XXVI:
Year be-
gins Olym.
Xciii. Cal-
licratidas Archon.

* Gloss.
Where-
in the
Moon was
eclipsed in
the Eve-
ning, the
old Tem-
ple of
Minerva at
Athens was
burnt, *Pi-
tyas* was *E-
phorus*, and
Callicratidas Ar-
chon.

Thus the Year ended in which the *Carthaginians* invaded *Sicily* with an hundred and twenty Gallies and a Land-Army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and though they lost a Battle, yet they took *Agrigentum* by Famine after a Siege of seven Months.

The year following, * being the twenty sixth Year of the War, the *Lacedemonians* sent *Callicratidas* to succeed *Lysander* in the Fleet, whose time was now expired. When *Lysander* resigned the Fleet he told *Callicratidas*, that his Victory had made him Lord of the Sea, and that as such he delivered up the Fleet.

Callicratidas

Callicratidas replied, He would acknowledge him Lord of the Sea, if he would coast along from *Ephesus* to the left of *Samos* (where the *Athenian* Fleet lay) and resign it at *Miletus*. But *Lysander* made answer, That he would not meddle whilst another Commanded.

Callicratidas, besides the Ships he had from *Lysander*, reinforced his Fleet with 50 Sail more from *Chius*, *Rhodes*, and the other Allies; and having got together his whole Fleet consisting of an hundred and forty Sail, he made preparation to meet the Enemy. But when he found that *Lysander's* Friends mutined against him, not only obeying unwillingly, but giving out in the Confederate Cities, that the *Lacedemonians* committed a great Error in changing their Admirals, and sent such as were unfit for Command, no Seamen, that knew not how to manage, unskilful in Sea-Affairs, and unknown to the Sailors, whereby their Affairs were in danger to be damnified; *Callicratidas* called the *Lacedemonians* that were there together, and spoke to them after this manner. "I could have been content to have staid at home. Nor do I care whether *Lysander*, or any man else be esteemed a better Seaman than my self.

"I was

Callicratidas his
Speech to
the Muti-
nous Sol-
diers.

"I was sent by the Government to command the Fleet, and my only business is to execute their Orders to the utmost of my Power. And seeing 'tis my earnest desire to serve my Country, I crave your best Advice about these Affairs (which you understand as well as my self) to know of you whether I must stay or return home, and relate what condition things are in here. None durst gainsay, but acknowledge that the Government must be obeyed, and his Orders observed. After that he went to *Cyrus*, and demanded pay for his men, who bid him wait two days. *Callicratidas* took this delay very hainously, being enraged to run so often after him to Court; crying, The *Greeks* were very miserable in flattering the *Barbarians* for money; adding, That if ever he returned home alive, he would use his utmost endeavour to beget a good understanding between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*. Soon after he went to *Miletus*, and dispatcht some Ships from thence to *Lacedemon* for money; where having assembled the *Milesians*, he spoke thus to them. "I (Gentlemen of *Miletus*) must of necessity obey the Orders I have received from the States my Masters; and my request

Callicratidas his Speech to the *Milesians*.

"request to you is, That you would perseue the War with all the application imaginable; for you live amongst the *Barbarians*, and have suffered very much from them already. You ought to set a good Example to the Allies, and use your utmost Endeavours, and speediest Diligence to infest the Enemy, till the return of those from *Lacedemon* which I have sent thither for Money. For *Lyfander* has refunded the money which was here, to *Cyrus*; as if it had been superfluous, and is gone his way. When I went to *Cyrus*, he put me off, and could not be spoke with. Nor could I endure to dance attendance after him. In the mean time if we have any good success, I engage to make you a suitable return. Let us shew the *Barbarians*, that we by the favour of Heaven, can revenge our selves on our Enemies, without having their Forces in admiration. After he had made an end, several rose up, and especially those that were informed against for opposing his Designs, who out of fear proposed a way to raise money, and there offered some on their private Accounts; with which, and with the Contributions he had raised in *Chius*, he paid every Seaman five *Drackmas*, and 3 s. 1 d. ob. went

*Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ
παραγῶν.*

went to *Methymna* in *Lesbos*, that was then in the Enemy's hands. The *Methymneans* because the Garrison were *Athenians*, and the Principal men of the *Athenian* Faction, would not surrender: whereupon he attackt the Town, and took it by Storm. The Soldiers had the plunder, but *Callicratidas* brought all the Slaves into the Market-place; and when the Confederates cried, The *Methymneans* should also be sold for Slaves, He said, No *Greek*, if he could help it, should be made a Slave, whilst he was General.

The day after he dismiss the Freemen, so that only the Garrison of the *Athenians*, and the Slaves, were sold. He threatened *Conon* that he would make him leave * whoring the Sea; and seeing him stand out to Sea by break of day, he gave him chase, and cut him off of *Samos*, that he might not run in there. *Conon* retreated in some good Sailers, having put the best Rowers that he had chose out of several Crews on board a few Ships, and ran into *Mitylene* with *Leo* and *Erafnides* two of the ten Admirals. *Callicratidas* followed him into the same Port with an hundred and seventy Sail. *Conon* being prevented by the Citizens from putting into Harbour, was forced to engage at the

Mouth

Mouth of the Haven where he lost thirty Sail, yet the Men got ashore; the other forty Ships he haled up under the Fort. *Callicratidas* went into the Harbour, and having blockt him up, so that he could not sail out, he sent by Land for the whole strength of *Methymna*, and transported other Forces from *Chius*. At that time there came a Supply of Money from *Cyrus*.

Conon being blockt up by Sea and Land, and not able to get in any Provisions, there being a great many men in the Town, and no Assistance from the *Athenians* who had not received any Intelligence of what had passed; launcht two of the best Sailers he had, and fitted them out before day, picking the ablest Rowers out of the whole Fleet, which he put on board a *Brigandine*, and covered them with the * Wastcloaths. Thus they passed on the day. In the Evening when it was dark, he took out his men again that the Enemy might not discover his Design. On the fift day having gotten sufficient Provisions aboard, they sailed out of Port at Noon-day when the Guard-Ships were careless, and taking their rest. The one shapt her course for the *Helle-spont*, the other stood out to Sea. They

F

that

Μοιχῶν-
τα, a Say-
ing of a
Spanish
Ambassa-
dor goes
about to
this pur-
pose, That
the East
Indies
were the
King his
Master's
Mistress,
which he
would
communi-
cate to o-
ther Nati-
ons, but
the west
Indies his
Wife
which he
would re-
serve to
himself.

Παρορε-
ματα, were
partly for
Delence,
and partly
for
Blinds,
Schif. de
Milit. Nav.
lib. 2. cap.
5.

that belonged to the Guardships happ'ning then to be at Dinner ashore, came running with a confused noise, cut their Cables, got on board, and as fast as every one of them could get out to Sea, they gave chase to her that stood out to Sea, and coming up with her by Sun-set, engaged, took her, and all her men, and towed her to the Fleet. She that went to the *Hellepont* escap't and carried News of the blockade to *Athens*.

Diomedon coming to relieve *Conon* when he was blockt up, put into *Mitylene* Chanel with twelve Sail. *Callicratidas* took ten of them by surprise, *Diomedon* only escaping with his own and another. When the *Athenians* heard of the Blockade, and what had passed, they decreed that an hundred and ten Sail should be sent to relieve the Besieged, putting aboard all Freemen and Slaves that were of age for Service, and fitted out the hundred and ten in thirty days, and having shipt several Horse on board them they set sail. They went in the first place to *Samos*, from whence they had ten *Samians*, and got above thirty more from the rest of the Confederates, having pressed all for the Service. The like was done to those Ships that were abroad. They

They were in all above an hundred and fifty Sail. As soon as *Callicratidas* heard that the Succors were arrived at *Samos*, he left fifty Ships there under the Command of *Eteonicus*, and put to Sea with an hundred and twenty, dining at *Cape Malea* in *Lesbos* over against *Mitylene*.

The same day the *Athenians* supped at *Arginusæ*, which is over against that part of *Lesbos*, where *Cape Malea* is opposite to *Mitylene*. At Night *Callicratidas* discovered the Fires, and some reporting that they belonged to the *Athenians*, he weighed at midnight to go and surprise them; but a great Storm of Rain and Thunder prevented his Design. After it ceased he sailed by break of day towards *Arginusæ*. The *Athenians* met him out at Sea on the left in this order. * *Aristo-* The Sea-
crates led the right wing with fifteen Sail, fight at
and next him was *Diomedon* with fifteen *Arginusæ*.
more. *Pericles* was placed in the Rear of *Aristocrates*, and *Erasnides* a Stern of *Diomedon's* Squadron. Next to *Diomedon* were the *Samians* with ten Ships in rank under the Command of *Hippeus* their Countreyman, next to these were ten Captains of the Heavy-armed men in Rank, and three Admirals with the Confederates in the Rear of these. *Protoma-*

chus had the right Wing with fifteen Sail; next him lay *Thrasylus* with fifteen more. *Lyfias* lay in the Rear of *Protomachus* with the like number, and *Aristogenes* in the Rear of *Thrasylus*. They drew up in this Figure, that the Enemy might not charge through them, because their Ships were worse Sailers than the others. The *Lacedemonian's* Ships being nimble, and fitted either to charge through the Enemy's Fleet, or to surround it, were drawn up all in a Line. *Callicratidas* had the Van.

Here *Hermo*, and *Megareus Callicratidas* his Pilot told him, he would do well to retreat, because the *Athenian* Gallies were much more superiour in number. *Callicratidas* told them again, that *Sparta* would be ne'r the worse inhabited, though he were slain, and that it was dishonourable to fly. Then they had a long Engagement, at first in good order, afterwards in confusion. But when *Callicratidas* charged into the Enemy's Fleet with his own Ship, and falling over board could ne'r be seen more, and *Protomachus* in the right Wing had beaten the Enemy's left, the *Peloponnesians* run most of them to *Phocæa*, and some to *Chios*. The *Athenians* returned to *Arginusæ*. There were twenty five Sail of the *Athenians* lost,

lost, men and all, except a few that got ashore. Of the *Peloponnesians*; nine *Lacedemonians* out of ten, and sixty of the other Confederates.

The Admirals thought it convenient to send *Theramenes* and *Thrasylus* that fitted out Gallies * at their own expence, and some of the Captains of Heavy-armed men, to go to the Ships that were disabled, & sinking, and take up their men; the rest to go and fall upon *Eteonicus* who blockt up *Mitylene*. But they were hindred by a violent Wind, and Storm from executing their Design. So they erected a Trophy and staid there all Night. In the mean time there came to *Eteonicus* an Advice-Boat with News of the Sea-fight. He sent her away and commanded them on board her to sail out of Harbour, without haling any Ship, and forthwith to return to the Fleet with Garlands, Crying, *Callicratidas* had obtained a Victory at Sea, and that all the *Athenian* Fleet was destroyed. They obeyed their Orders, and after they returned, he sacrificed for the † good News, commanding the men to Sup, the Merchants to ship their Goods privately, and to go along with the Fleet in all hast (for the Wind served) to *Chios*. The Camp he burnt, and

* *Techag-*
χθ, was
one that
the Law
obliged to
set out a
Gally at
his own
expence,
which is
mentioned
in the second
Book of this
History, and
called by
Demosthenes
τεχνάγος
γ. iv. For
Theramenes
could not
be a Cap-
tain of a
man of
War, be-
ing he is
called in
two places
of this
Book,
Θεαυρός,
or Admi-
ral.
† Just like
our Bon-
fires.

and sent the Foot to *Methymna*.

After the Enemy departed, *Conon* had a fair Gale, and launching his Ships, he met the *Athenians* that had parted a little before from *Arginusæ*, and gave them an account of *Eteonicus*. The *Athenians* sailed to *Mitylene*, and so forward to *Chius*, from whence they departed without any Action. The Government of *Athens* put all the Admirals out of Commission except *Conon*; to whom they joyned *Adimantus*, and for a third *Philocles*. *Protomachus* and *Aristogenes* two of the Admirals that engaged, did not return to *Athens*. The other six * went thither.

* *Pericles*,
Diomedon,
Lysias, *Aristocrates*,
Thrasibus,
and *Erasinides*.

Archedemus the Governour of *Declea*, and the greatest man in *Athens* at that time, plotted secretly against *Erasinides*; and accused him in Court for appropriating to himself the Publick money which came from the *Hellepont*, and for something about his Command; whereupon the Court thought fit to commit *Erasinides*. When the Admirals gave a Relation of the Sea-fight and Violence of the Storm in the Senate-house, *Timocrates* moved that the rest of them might be put in Irons, and delivered up to the People; accordingly the Senate ordered them to be taken

taken into Custody. Soon after there was an Assembly, wherein several Persons but chiefly *Theramenes*, accused the Admirals, who declared, they deserved to be call'd to an Account for not taking up the Shipwrack't men, and proved by the Evidence of a Letter sent from the Admirals to the Senate and People, that they made no other pretence for not doing it, than that of the Storm. After this each of the Admirals made a short Defence (for they were not suffered to plead according to Law) and gave a Relation of the whole Action.

That they persued the Enemy, and that they gave Orders about taking up the men to those that fitted out Gallies at their own charge, and to *Theramenes* and *Thrasibus* who had formerly been Admirals, and to Persons of the like Quality. That they knew of none to be accountable for not taking them up, except those that were commanded to. Neither (said they) will we falsely lay the blame on them, tho they have impeacht us, for it was the Violence of the Storm that hindred the men from being taken up. Moreover they proved what they said by the Depositions of the Masters, and others that were in the Fleet, and gave the

People such satisfaction, that several private men stood up, and offered to bail them.

But 'twas thought fit to adjourn the matter in hand till the next Assembly (for then it was so dark that they could not see their hands) that the Senate having prepared matters before, should make their report how they would have the Prisoners tried. The Feast * *Apaturia* came soon after, wherein the Parents and Children assemble; at which *Theramenes* his Friends put several People in Mourning, and shaved them close; that they might come into Court as the Relations of those that were drowned, and prevailed with *Callixenus* to impeach the Admirals in the Senate. Upon this an Assembly was called, in which the Senate made their Report, and *Callixenus* read it. *Whereas the Accusations, and Defences of the Admirals were heard last Court. Let all the Athenians give their Suffrages by their Tribes. Let there be set two Urns in every Tribe. Let the Cryer make Proclamation in every Tribe; and whosoever is of Opinion that the Admirals are guilty of not taking up the Victors at Sea, let him put his Suffrage into the first Urn, and whosoever is of the*

* A Feast wherein the Parents brought their Children to be enrolled in the Tribes, *castell. Syntag.*

contrary

*contrary opinion, into the last. If they be found guilty let them be delivered to the * XI men and put to death. Let their Estates be confiscated, and the tenth part of them consecrated to Minerva.* There came one into Court that said he was saved on a Meal-tub, and deposed that the drowning men charged him if he escaped with life to inform the People, that the Admirals refused to take those up that had fought with so much bravery for their Countrey. *Euryptolemus*, and some others accused *Callixenus* for bringing in a Bill, that was contrary to Law; but the Rabble cried out 'twas an insufferable thing to abridge the People of their absolute Power. Hereupon, when *Lyciscus* told them, that unless they forbore to meddle with the Jurisdiction of the Court, they should be proceeded against, as the Admirals were. Again the Rabble made such a Tumult, that they were forc't to let fall their Accusation. But when the Judges declared, that they would suffer no Suffrage to be given contrary to Law: *Callixenus* went up into the Desk, and impeacht him for that. Then the Multitude cried, That they who would not assent, should be accused. Hereupon all the Judges out of fear said they would

* XI men were like Sheriffs to take care of the Prisoners, to see them tryed, and to do Justice on them.

The famous Socrates.

would submit ; except *Socrates* the Son of *Sophroneiscus* , who declared that he would do nothing contrary to Law.

Euryptolemus his Oration.

Euryptolemus went up after *Callixenus*, and spoke in Defence of the Admirals after this manner. "I am come up here (my Lords) partly to accuse, partly to defend my Friend *Diomedon*, and *Pericles* my Relation, & Kinsman, partly also to offer, what I conceive will be for the general good of my Countrey. I blame them for perswading their Colleagues to write to the Senate and People : That they had ordered *Theramenes* and *Thrasylbulus* with forty seven sail of Ships to take up the Ship-wrackt men , who ne'r observed their Orders ; Whereby the miscarriage of a few has involved all in a common guilt , and they for their late humanity are brought in danger of their lives , by the secret Practises of these and some others. Which yet they need not apprehend , provided you will do them Right and Justice. For thus you shall be well informed of the Truth, and have no cause to repent of your Proceedings ; nor find that you have committed the two grand Offences both against the Gods, and your own selves. I offer such things to your consideration,

" on,

" on, wherein neither I nor any else can impose upon you ; and if you find them guilty, you may inflict what punishment you please either on them each severally, or on all joyntly. Only allow them one day, if not longer, to make their defence in, that you may not give more credit to others than your selves. You (my Lords) know all that *Canonus* his Law is very severe, which says , the Prisoner for Treason against the State shall plead in Irons, and if convict thereof, he shall be put to death, and flung into the *Barathrum*, his estate shall be confiscated, and a tenth part thereof shall be consecrated to *Minerva*. I move that the Admirals may be tried upon this Statute, and begin first if you please with my Cousin *Pericles*. For I should be ashamed to value him above my Countrey. Or if you had rather , let them be tried upon the Statute against sacrilegious Persons, and Traytors ; which says, that if any Person shall commit Treason against the Government , or shall steal any holy things, and upon a legal trial be convict of the same, That he shall have no * burial in *Attica*, and his Estate shall be confiscated. Let them

* There was a Law that no Traytor should be buried publicly, *Thucy. 2. lib.*

" be

"be prosecuted upon which you please
 "of these two, and divide the day into
 "three parts: the first, for you to meet,
 "and them to be impleaded in, the next
 "for them to make their Defence in, and
 "the last to vote whether they be guilty,
 "or not guilty. Thus (my Lords) the
 "Delinquents shall be severely punished,
 "the Innocent acquitted, and not destroyed
 "without any form of Justice. So
 "shall you proceed according to Law, and
 "your Oath; and do not conspire with the
 "*Lacedemonians* by condemning those
 "men without an Hearing, and contrary to
 "Justice, who have come off victoriously,
 "and taken seventy Sail of Ships.
 "What are you afraid of that you make
 "so much haste? Is it lest you should
 "not have power to acquit or condemn
 "any, without you had proceeded in an
 "extrajudicial way? Like *Callixenus*,
 "who moved that all the Admirals might
 "be tried by one Suffrage. But if you
 "condemn any innocent Person to death,
 "whereof you may afterwards repent:
 "consider what a lamentable thing, and of
 "what ill consequence it will be to take
 "away the lives of men without Forms
 "of Justice. 'Tis very hard, when you
 "allowed *Aristarchus* (who first endeavoured

"voured

"voured to subvert the Government, and
 "after that betrayed *Oenoe* to the *Thebans*
 "(your Enemies) what day he desired to
 "make his Defence in, and all things else
 "according to Law; to deny the Admirals
 "the same, who have vanquished your
 "Enemies, and fully answered your Expectations.
 "Far be it from you (my Lords) to violate
 "those Laws, the Observation of which has
 "made you so great.

"Proceed ye now to those things that
 "seem most to affect the Admirals. After
 "they had beaten the Enemy at Sea, and
 "made to land, *Diomedon* advised that the
 "Fleet should draw up in a line to go
 "and take up the Wrecks, and men. *Erasnides*
 "his Advice was that the whole Fleet
 "should go directly to attack the Enemy
 "at *Mitylene*. *Thrasylus* said both might
 "be done, if they left some Ships there,
 "and pursued with the rest. 'Twas
 "resolved that the eight Admirals
 "should each of them send three Ships
 "out of their respective Divisions, viz.
 "ten Captains of the Heavy-armed men,
 "ten *Samians*, and three Admirals. These
 "made up forty seven Sail, and were four
 "to every Ship that was lost, there being
 "twelve in all. Amongst


'Επὶ κί-
 πος, in a
 Line or
 Series, Sch.
Thucyd. ad
 2. lib. de
Phorm.
 classe.

"mongst which were *Theramenes* and
 " *Thrasylbulus* who fitted out Gallies at
 " their own charge, that impeacht the
 " Admirals in the last Assembly; with
 " the rest of the Fleet they went in pur-
 " suit of the Enemy. Which of these
 " things have they not well, and fully
 " discharged. 'Tis reasonable then that
 " those only should be accountable for
 " Miscarriages in the Fight, who were to
 " engage; and they only questioned for
 " not taking the men up, that had Orders
 " so to do, but observed them not: So
 " much I can say for both, that the Storm
 " hindred them from executing the Ad-
 " miral's Commands.

" This can be proved by those that
 " were saved by accident, amongst whom
 " is one of our Admirals, that escaped
 " out of a Ship which sunk; and though
 " he wanted help himself, yet he is now
 " condemned by the same Suffrage with
 " those that obeyed not their Orders. But
 " far be it from you (my Lords) to deal
 " with them for their Victory and good
 " Fortune, as if they had been vanquishd,
 " and unsuccessful. Don't mistake that
 " fatal necessity, and call it Treason in
 " them, which was want of Power; for
 " the Storm disabled them from per-
 " forming

" forming what they were commanded.
 " 'Twill be greater Justice to honour
 " them with Garlands, than to follow
 " the advice of ill men, and put them
 " to death.

When *Euripolemus* had made an end,
 he brought in a Bill, that each of the
 Prisoners should be tried severally, ac-
 cording to the Statute of *Canonus*: but
 the Resolve of the Senate was, that
 they should be all tried by one suf-
 frage; when they put it to the Vote at
 first it was carried for *Euripolemus* his
 Opinion, but *Meneclis* entering his Pro-
 testation, and it being voted again, the
 Resolve of the Senate was ratified.
 Upon this eight of the Admirals that
 engaged were condemned; whereof six
 that were at home suffered. Not long
 after the *Athenians* repented of what
 they had done, and decreed that those
 who had abused the People, should be
 proceeded against, and give bail to stand
 their Trial; and that *Callixenus* should
 be one of these. Four others were like-
 wise charged, and delivered up by their
 Bail. But afterwards they made their
 escape before Trial in the Riot, wherein
Cleophon was killed; and *Callixenus* be-
 ing generally hated was starved to death,
 in

80 Xenophon's *History*, &c.
in his  Return with the rest from
the *Piræus* to the City.

XENOPHON'S

[81]

XENOPHON'S History
OF THE
Affairs of Greece.

LIB. II.

THE CONTENTS.

Eteonicus prevents the Conspiracy of his Soldiers. Lyfander surprizes the Athenian Fleet at Ægospotamos. Athens besieged; and taken by Lyfander. The thirty Tyrants set up. Thraſybulus expels them.

THe Soldiers that were with *Eteonicus* in *Chius*, lived all Summer time upon the ripe Fruits; and wrought in the Countrey for Wages. But when
G Winter

Winter came, and they had no Provisions, but were naked and barefoot: they met together and deliberated about seizing *Chius*. Those that liked the Design, determined to wear a Reed, that they might discern how strong their Party was. *Eteonicus* when he heard of the Conspiracy was at a stand, not knowing how to comport himself in this Affair, because there was so great a number of

* Like our
Green
Ribband
men.

* Reedmen. For it seemed dangerous to call them openly to an Account, lest turning Enemies, and taking up Arms, they should possess themselves of the City, and when they had prevailed, put all things in confusion.

Besides he considered that it would be an horrid thing to destroy so many of the Confederates, that he should thereby incur the Obloquy of the rest of the *Greeks*, and render the Army disaffected to the Service. Whereupon taking along with him fifteen men armed with Daggers, he walkt through the Town, and meeting with a man that had sore eyes coming out of a Surgeon's Shop, he killed him. A disturbance hap'ning upon't, and some asking for what the man was killed: *Eteonicus* commanded them to inform them, that it was for wearing a Reed. Whereupon

upon as soon as the Order was given out, all that wore Reeds threw them away; every one that heard it, fearing he should not convey them away soon enough.

Afterwards *Eteonicus* assembled the *Chians*; and commanded them to raise money, that the Sea-men might receive their Wages, and be kept from engaging in any new Conspiracy. When they had made a Contribution, he commanded his men on board, and going on board every Ship himself, encouraged and heartned them up, dissembling the loss the *Lacedemonians* had sustained at *Arginusæ*, and gave them a Months pay a man.

A while after the *Chians*, and the rest of the Confederates assembled at *Ephesus*, and consulted about sending Ambassadors to *Lacedemon*, to give an account of the present Juncture of Affairs, and to desire that *Lyfander* might be Admiral; who had gained great reputation amongst the Confederates the last time he was Admiral, by the Victory he obtained in the Sea-fight at *Notium*. Accordingly there were Ambassadors dispatcht, and Messengers from *Cyrus* in company with them, upon the same Errand. The *Lacedemonians* granted, that *Lyfander* should be

Vice-Admiral, but appointed *Aracus* Admiral, for their Law does not allow that the same Person should have that Command twice. The Fleet was delivered up to *Lyfander* at the end of the twenty sixth Year of the War. The same Year *Cyrus* killed *Antobæfates* and *Mitræus* the Sons of *Darius* his Sister, Daughter to *Xerxes*, who was Father to *Darius*, for keeping their hands within their sleeve, when they met him; which respect the *Persians* pay to their King only. The sleeve reaches somewhat below the hand, so that nobody can do any mischief, whiles he keeps his hand within it. *Hieramenes* and his Wife represented to *Darius*, how horrid a thing it would be to connive at so great an Insolency. Thereupon the King feigned himself sick, and dispatcht Messengers for *Cyrus* to come up to him.

Like the Custom of being led in to the Grand Seignior.

XXVII. The next Year *Lyfander* came to *Ephesus*, and sent for *Eteonicus* with the Fleet from *Chius*, getting the rest together from all Parts. He not only refitted these Ships, but built more at *Antandrus*, and went to demand money of *Cyrus*: who told him, that he had disburs't all he had from the King with a great deal more, and shew'd him what every

Year of the Pelop. War, *Alexandrus* Archon. When *Artybas* was Ephorus, and *Alexandrus* Archon at Athens.

ry Admiral had received, notwithstanding he gave him some. *Lyfander* taking the money appointed Captains of Gallies, and pay'd the Sea-men their Wages. In like manner the *Athenian* Admirals equipped their Fleet at *Samos*. About this time, *Cyrus*, upon the arrival of a Messenger from his Father, sent for *Lyfander*, telling him, that his Father was sick, and that he had commanded him to come to him, though he was marcht at that time to *Thamneria* in *Media* not far from the *Cadusi* that were Borderers, and had made a defection, being gone thither to reduce them.

When *Lyfander* came, *Cyrus* would not yield, that he should fight the *Athenians* by Sea, unless he were much Superiour to them in Shipping, Telling him moreover that the King, and he, had money enough, to equip a powerful Fleet for such a Design. Afterwards he consigned him the Tribute of the Cities, that belonged to himself, and what money could be spared besides, professing withal the kindness he had for the *Lacedemonians*, but in particular for *Lyfander*, and so went up to his Father. When *Cyrus* had delivered him all his Concerns, and was entred on his Journey towards his sick Father, that had sent for him: *Lyfander* paid

paid off the Army and set sail to *Ceramicus* a Bay in *Caria*. There he attackt a Town in League with the *Athenians* called *Cedraë*: and the day after taking it by Storm, made Slaves of the Inhabitants, who were half *Barbarians*, and from thence he parted for *Rhodes*.

The *Athenians* setting out of *Samos*, harrassed the King of *Persia's* Countrey, going also against *Chius*, and *Ephesus*: and when they had chosen *Menander*, *Tydeus*, and *Cephisodotus*, besides those Admirals that were already in Commission, they made preparations to meet the Enemy. In the mean while *Lyfander* sailed from *Rhodes* along the Coast of *Ionnia* to the *Hellespont*, to observe what Ships came that way, and to go against those Cities that had revolted. The *Athenians* stood more out to Sea towards *Chius*, because *Asia* was an Enemies Countrey. *Lyfander* parted from *Abydus* to *Lampsacus*, which was in league with the *Athenians*. When the *Abydenians*, and some other Forces under the Command of *Thorax* the *Lacedemonian*, came to him by Land; they attackt the Town, and took it by Storm, and the Soldiers had the plunder of it, being very rich and well stored with Corn and other Provisions: but *Lyfander* dismiss

dismiss all the Freemen. The *Athenians* followed him directly, and put into Harbour at *Eleus* in the *Chersonese*, with an hundred and eighty Sail of Ships: whilst they were at Dinner News was brought them of the loss of *Lampsacus*. Upon which they parted immediately for *Sestos*, where they took in some Provisions, and went from thence to *Egospotamos*, over against *Lampsacus*, which is about fifteen Furlongs from the *Hellespont*, and there they Supped.

The same Night towards Morning *Lyfander* made a Sign to the Soldiers to refresh themselves, and come on board. Then having made all necessary preparations for an Engagement; and causing the * Barricadoes to be set up, he commanded them to observe their posture, and that none should move out of their Line. As soon as the Sun was up, the *Athenians* ranged their Fleet in order before the Port, and faced the Enemy with a resolution to engage. But when *Lyfander* came not out to them, and the day was far spent, they sailed back again to *Egospotamos*. Upon which *Lyfander* ordered out the nimblest Ships to follow the *Athenians*, to observe how they behaved themselves, when they went ashore, and then

* Παλαιὰ
Γαλματα,
they are
made of
old Cables,
we use
them in
our men
of War to
shelter the
men from
the Shot.

then to come back, and give him an Account: nor did he permit any of his men to go ashore till these Ships returned.

This he did for four days together, during which time the *Athenians* continually bore up to him. *Alcibiades* when he viewed from his Castle the *Athenians* lying by the Shore, near no Town, fetching their Provisions from *Sestos*, that was fifteen Furlongs from the Fleet; but the Enemy in Port, and near a Town, from whence they were furnished with all necessaries; went and informed them that they had but bad riding, and advised them to go to *Sestos*, where they might have the accommodation both of an Harbour, and a Town. When you are there (said he) you may fight the Enemy, when you think fit your selves. The Admirals (especially *Tydeus* and *Menander*) bid him go about his business, for now they commanded, and not he; so he went his way. On the fifth day that the *Athenians* had thus constantly bore up with *Lyfander*, he commanded those he had ordered to observe their Fleet, that when they discovered the Enemy gone ashore, and straggled on the *Chersonese* (which they contemning *Lyfander* for not coming out to engage them, did every day

more

more and more, fetching their Provisions a great way off) they should return back to him, and hale up a Shield when they were half Seas over. They obeyed his Command. Then *Lyfander* having taken *Thorax* with the Land-Army on board, made a Sign to set Sail with all expedition.

As soon as *Conon* saw the Enemy bearing up with him, he made a Sign for his men to come on board, and succour him with all possible diligence; but the men were so straggled, that some Ships had not above two Rowers, some one, some none at all. Only *Conon's* with seven more and the *Paralus* being manned stood out to Sea; but all the rest *Lyfander* took on ground.

Lyfander }
surprises
the *Athe-*
nian Fleet.

The *Athenians* ashore got together in a Body, and threw themselves into the Garrisons. *Conon* seeing the *Athenians* totally defeated, fled with nine Sail, and stood for *Abarnis*, a Cape of *Lampsacus*; and taking from thence the Main-sails of *Lyfander's* Ships, he went himself with eight Sail to *Evagoras* in *Cyprus*, but the *Paralus* parted for *Athens* with the News of what had passed. *Lyfander* carried to *Lampsacus* the Ships, Prisoners, and the rest of the Spoil, together

gether with *Philocles* and *Adimantus* two Admirals that were his Prisoners. The day that the Action hapned he dispatcht *Theopompus* the *Meletian* a Pirate to *Lacedemon* with an account of the Fight; who arrived there in three days. After this *Lyfander* called the Confederates together, and bid them Consult what was to be done with the Prisoners. There were a great many Accusations brought against the *Athenians*, for their former villainous Actions; for having determined to cut off every Prisoner's right hand, if they had gotten the Victory at Sea: and for throwing down a Precipice the men they had taken on board two Gallies, the one a *Corinthian*, the other an *Andrian*; being set on by the cruel advice of *Philocles*. Several other things also were alleged, and 'twas resolved that all the Prisoners who were *Athenians* should be put to death, except *Adimantus*; because he only at the Council of War opposed the cutting off of hands, which was the reason that some accused him for betraying their Fleet. *Lyfander* asking *Philocles* that threw the *Andrians* and *Corinthians* down the Precipice, what he deserved for being the Inventor of such inhumanity against the *Greeks*, hackt him in pieces.

When

When he had settled Affairs at *Lampsacus*, he went to *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, where being received by the Townsmen within their Walls, he sent away the *Athenian* Garrison with Passes. At that time those that betrayed *Byzantium* to *Alcibiades*, fled to *Pontus*, and from thence to *Athens*, where they were naturalized. *Lyfander*, when he saw any Soldiers of the *Athenian* Garrisons, or any *Athenian* besides, sent them all to *Athens*, giving Passes to those that sailed thither, and to no place else, concluding that the greater the Multitudes were that flockt to the City and *Piræus*, the sooner they would want Provisions. Therefore leaving *Sthenelaus* the *Lacedemonian* to be Governour of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, he went to *Lampsacus*, and refitted his Fleet.

When the * *Paralus* arrived at *Athens* in the Night, upon the first report of the Calamity, the sad News was conveyed by a continual Lamentation from the *Piræus*; up the Long Walls, on to the City, one informing another: So that Nobody slept that Night, not only bewailing those that were slain, but their own condition a great deal more; reflecting, how they had treated the *Melians* a Colony of

* A Ship for Sacred and Publick uses, there were four others, viz. *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, *Ammonis*, and *Deli-as*, or *Salaminia*, *Cassel*. Syn- tag.

the

* Scythians,
* Ionians,
* Argives,
* Aeginetans.

the *Lacedemonians*, after they had besieged, and taken them, as also the *Histiæans*, * and several other *Greeks*. The day following they called a Council, and decreed, That all the Ports except one should be choaked up, the Walls cleared, Guards set, and all things provided for the City to hold out a Siege.

And thus whiles the *Athenians* were employed about these Affairs, *Lyfander* came from the *Hellefpont* to *Lesbos* with two hundred Sail of Ships, and settled the Government at *Mitylene*, as he had done at other Towns, and sent *Eteonicus* to the Coast of *Thrace* with ten Gallies, to reduce all the Towns there to the Obedience of the *Lacedemonians*. After the Sea-fight, the rest of *Greece* deserted the *Athenians*, except the *Samians*, who had murdered the Chief men, and possessed themselves of the Government. *Lyfander* sent to acquaint *Agis*, and those of *Decelea*, and *Lacedemon*, that he was coming with two hundred Sail of Ships. Whereupon the whole Multitude of the *Lacedemonians* and *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives*, went out to receive him by order of *Pausanias* the other King.

When they were all assembled, he marcht

marcht with them, and encamped near the City of *Athens* in the School called *Academia*. Then *Lyfander* going to *Ægina*, and getting as many of the People together as he could, restored them to their Countrey, as he also did the *Meliæans*, and others that had been banish't. After that he wasted *Salamis*, and came to an Anchor in the *Piræus* with an hundred and fifty Sail, hindring any Ships from coming into Port. The *Athenians* blockt up by Sea and Land; knew not what measures to take, being destitute of a Fleet, of Friends, and Provisions; thinking it was now come to their turn to suffer the ills they had inflicted on the People of other Towns, which was not by way of revenge, but insolency, and for no other cause, but that they had joyned with the *Lacedemonians*. Thereupon they advanced those that had been disgraced, and so held out the Siege, and though many were starved to death, yet no mention was made of capitulating. At last their Provision being quite spent, they sent Ambassadors to *Agis*, to desire an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*, to reserve themselves the * Longwalls, and *Piræus*, and to make Peace upon these Conditions. He ordered the Ambassadors had,

* Longwalls joyned the Port and the City, which *Me-gara*, *Argos*, and other Cities had.

ambassadors to go to *Lacedemon*, because he had no Power to conclude a Peace, and they informing the *Athenians* thereof, were dispatcht thither, and went to *Sellasia* near *Laconia*.

When the *Ephori* understood their Message to be the same, that it was to *Agis*, they commanded them to depart immediately, and think of fairer Proposals, if they really stood in need of a Peace. The Ambassadors returned home, and when they reported the News to the People there fell a Consternation on all; for they thought of nothing less, but that the Survivors should be made Slaves, and that whilst other Ambassadors were passing to and fro, the rest of them would be starved. As for pulling down of the Walls, there was none would propose it. Because *Archeſtratus* was committed for mentioning in the Senate, that it would be expedient to make a Peace with the *Lacedemonians* upon their own demands. Which were, that the Long-walls should be demolished on both sides for ten furlongs; a Decree also was made forbidding any to move it hereafter.

In this Juncture, *Theramenes* declared in the Assembly, that if they would send him to *Lyſander*, he would discover whether

whether the *Lacedemonians*, by insisting on the demolishing of the Walls, designed to make them all Slaves, or only to oblige them to keep the Peace the better. After he was dispatcht, he stay'd with *Lyſander* above three Months, expecting when the *Athenians* (now their Provisions failing) would comply with any conditions. Four Months after he returned, and reported in the Assembly that *Lyſander* had detained him till that time, and now advised him to go to *Lacedemon*, because it was not in his power to grant their demands, but the *Ephori's*. Upon that he was chosen one of the ten Plenipotentiaries to *Lacedemon*. *Lyſander* sent *Aristotle* an *Athenian* Exile thither in Company of some *Lacedemonians* to inform them that he had made *Theramenes* this Answer, That the Power of War and Peace was vested in the *Ephori*. When *Theramenes* and the other Ambassadors arrived at *Sellasia*, 'twas demanded what Powers they had. They declared they had full instructions to treat of Peace. Then the *Ephori* ordered them to be introduced, and at their coming called an Assembly wherein the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* chiefly, with several other *Greeks*, opposed the making Peace with the *Athenians*,
and

and urged their total Extirpation.

The *Lacedemonians* replied they would not destroy a *Greek City*, that had done so great Service to *Greece* in the most critical times; but made Peace with them on these Conditions; That the Long-walls and *Piræus* should be demolished, that they should deliver up all their Ships but twelve, that they should restore their Exiles, that they should make a League Offensive and Defensive with the *Lacedemonians*, and serve them in all their Expeditions, both by Sea and Land. *Theramenes* and his Collegues brought these Articles of Peace to *Athens*; and when they came into Town a great Multitude flockt about them, fearing they returned without effect, though their necessity could admit of no delay, by reason abundance of People perisht with Famine. The day following the Ambassadors declared upon what terms the *Lacedemonians* would make Peace. *Theramenes* spoke the first, and advised them to comply with the *Lacedemonians*, and demolish the Long-walls. Whilst it was debated, the major part approved it, and it was resolved that the Peace should be accepted. After that *Lyfander* came up the *Piræus*, the Exiles returned and the Walls were demolished

with

with great eagerness, the Musick playing the while, and all imagined that the Liberty of *Greece* might be dated from that day. Thus ended the Year, about the middle of which *Dionysius* the Son of *Hermocrates* usurpt at *Syracuse*: the *Syracusians* having a little before vanquisht the *Carthaginians* in a Battel; which latter took *Agrigentum* distressed by Famine, and quitted by the *Sicilians*.

The next was the *Olympick* Year. The *Oligarchy* hapned after this manner: the People determined to chuse Thirty men, that were to make Laws, and administer the Government by them. Those that were chosen were these *. *Lyfander* having settled Affairs in this manner, parted for *Samos*. *Agis* drawing the Land-Army out of *Decelra*, disbanded, and sent them home. About this time, when the Sun was Eclipt, *Lycophron* the *Pheræan* aspiring to the Dominion of all *Thessaly*, overcame the *Larisseans*, and other *Thessalians* that opposed his Designs in a set Battle, and

XCIV. *Olymp.* *Pythodorus* Archon sine *Anarchia*.

In which *Crocinas* the *Thessalian* wont he foot-race *Eudicus* was *Ephorus* of *Sparta*, and *Pythodorus* Archon of *Athens*; whom the *Athenians* don't reckon, but call this Year the *Anarchy*.

* *Poliarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Amestrichus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Arestias*, *Diocles*, *Phaedria*, *Chorelaus*, *Anetius*, *Piso*, *Sophocles*, *Eratosthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomacles*, *Theognis*, *Æchines*, *Theogenes*, *Cleomides*, *Erasistratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Eumathes*, *Aristoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Amesthides*.

H

made

made a great Slaughter. At that time also *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Syracuse* being overthrown by the *Carthaginians* lost *Gela*, and *Camarina*. Soon after the *Leontini* that liv'd at *Syracuse* revolting from *Dionysius*, and the *Syracusians* returned to their own City, and immediately the *Syracusians* sent the Horse under the Command of *Dionysius* as far as *Catana* in pursuit of them.

The *Samians* being closely blockt up by *Lyfander*, went then first to consult of a Surrender, when he was going to give the Assault, and agreed upon these Conditions, That every Freeman should depart with a single Coat, but that they should deliver every thing else, and so they marcht out. *Lyfander* restored the Town, and all that was in it, to the old Inhabitants, appointing ten Magistrates to be Governours, and sent home all the Confederates Ships to their respective Cities. After that he saild with his *Spartans* to *Lacedemon*, and carried with him the * Antients of the taken Ships, all the Gallies out of the *Piræus* except twelve, the Crowns that were presented him upon his own particular account by the Cities, † 470 Talents of Silver, that remained of the Tribute which *Cyrus* had consigned him for the War,

* Scheffer calls them Colours and not Stems.

† 38425 l.

War, and whatever Spoils he had taken beside. All these he delivered to the *Lacedemonians* at the end of Summer, in the twenty eighth Year and sixt Month of the War.

When the War ended also. In which there were counted these Epho-

ri: First, *Anesias*, in whose time the War began, which was the fifteenth of the thirty years truce made after the Conquest of *Eubœa*. To him succeeded *Brasidas*, *Isanor*, *Sofratidas*, *Exarchus*, *Agessistratus*, *Angenidas*, *Onomacles*, *Xenippus*, *Pityas*, *Plistolus*, *Clinomachus*, *Ilarchus*, *Leo*, *Chærilas*, *Patesiadas*, *Cleosthenes*, *Lycarius*, *Eperatus*, *Onomantius*, *Alexippidas*, *Misgolaidas*, *Isias*, *Arasus*, *Euarchippus*, *Pantacles*, *Pityas*, *Archytas*, *Eudicus*. In whose time *Lyfander* achieved the forementioned Exploits, and returned home.

The Thirty were nominated immediately upon demolishing the Long-walls and *Piræus*, being chosen to make Laws for the New Government, which they still deferr'd either to collect or publish, appointing a Senate and Magistracy after their own humour. At first they seized, and put to death all those that they knew lived upon Evidencing in time of the Democracy, and such as were troublesome to honest and good men. The Senate condemned these with some satisfaction, and every one that knew himself to be clear of these Crimes was not in the least concerned at it. Afterwards they consulted how they might set up an Arbitrary Government, and dispatcht *Æschines* and *Aristotle* to *Lacedemon*, to prevail

Από συνθη-
καιρίας
Συνθη-

vail with *Lyfander*, that he would use his Interest to procure them a Guard, till such time as they had cleared the City of ill affected Persons, and settled the Governments, promising to maintain them at their own charge. He consented and sent them a Garrison, under the Command of *Callibius* the Governour. When they received them they paid *Callibius* all the respect imaginable, that so he might approve of all their Proceedings. When *Lyfander* had procured them a Guard, they no longer took up Rogues, and pitiful Fellows, but such also, as they thought would not bear their Oppression, or that would endeavour to obviate their Designs, and those that were likely to head the Multitude.

Formerly *Critias* and *Theramenes* maintained a strict correspondency and friendship; but when the first (having been banished by the People) began to thirst after blood; *Theramenes* opposed him, declaring it was not fit, that any should be put to death, for being esteemed by the People, provided they had never injured men of worth and honesty. For you and I (said he) were wont both by our Words and Actions to ingratiate with the People. But *Critias* (though he was very

ry intimate with *Theramenes*, till this time) did now discover himself to be of a contrary Opinion, saying, Those that contended for a Superiority over others, must of necessity remove such, as were the greatest Obstacles in their way. If you therefore think (said he) because we are not one, but Thirty, that for this reason we ought to be less solicitous for the preservation of this Model, than a Single Person would be for a Monarchy, ^{Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν,} you are a Fool. When several were arbitrarily put to death; many were observed to meet together, discoursing and wondering what kind of Government they were likely to have: *Theramenes* told them that unless they took a more competent number into their Society, the Aristocracy could not stand. ^{not always in a bad sense.}

Thereupon *Critias* and the rest of the Thirty, being jealous of *Theramenes*, lest he should become popular; chose three thousand to participate of the Government. Then *Theramenes* declared he thought they committed an absurdity; for whereas they designed at first to admit only the best men to the Administration of Affairs, they had now chosen three thousand, as if the whole number must needs be men of Worth and Integrity, and

none beside; or as if no ill men could be amongst them. *I see (said he) ye act two things which are inconsistent; for ye set up an Arbitrary Government, and that Arbitrary Government is not able to defend it self against the Power of the Subject.* Thus he.

The rest of the Thirty mustering the three thousand in the Market, and those that were not of that number in another place, they commanded them to arm themselves. In the mean while, they went away, and sent the Garrison with those Citizens that were of their Party to disarm all but the three thousand; who, *taking away their Arms*, carried them into the Citadel, and laid them up in the Temple there.

After this, they, as if they had obtained a Licence of doing what they listed, put some to death out of malice, and others for their money; resolving to seize all the Aliens, * to seal up their Goods, and to murder them, that they might procure money thereby to pay their Garrison. They also encouraged *Theramenes* to seize what Forreigner he pleased; but he replied, That he thought it base for them which profest themselves the best of men, to act worse than Sycophants.

For

For these if they can scrow money out of any, let them live; but we take away the lives of the Innocent, and their money too. And will not then these Actions of ours, appear worse than any of theirs? They suspecting *Theramenes* would be an Obstacle in their way, and obviate their Arbitrary Proceedings, conspired against him: the Senators also traduced him privately amongst themselves, as one that would subvert the Government. They therefore calling a Senate commanded some Soldiers, whom they thought the most desperate to be ready with daggers under their Arms; and when *Theramenes* came amongst them, *Critias* stood up and spake. *If any (my Lords) think we have put too many to death for the shortness of the time, let that man consider, that these things always happen, where alterations of Government are made. Our City is the most populous of any in Greece, and has for a long time been * pampered with * Liberty: So that we, who have changed the Government to an Aristocracy, must expect a great many Enemies. We therefore considering what a Grievance Democracy is to us all; and knowing though the Nobility will remain faithful, that the People will never be reconciled to the*

critias's Oration.

3a.

H 4

Lace-

* Our Sheriffs lock up the Houses of a Person committed for Treason, and secure the Goods till the trial be over, when they are to be restored to the Owner if cleared, else to the King, vide Salm. de usuris.

Lacedemonians, to whom we owe our Preservation, have with their Consent constituted this New Model. And we employ our utmost endeavour to take those off, that we find make opposition against it; but if any of our own Order attempt to alter the Constitution, 'tis much more equitable that that man should suffer.

We have observed that this Theramenes, makes it his business to contrive our ruine, which you will find to be true, if you take notice, that none discourses more freely against the times than he; and that none makes stronger opposition, when we consult about taking off any Popular man, than he. If these had been his Sentiments at first, we could not in reason have reputed him an ill man, but a profest Enemy. He promoted the League, and Alliance between us, and the Lacedemonians. He dissolved the Democracy. He instigated us chiefly to do justice on those Criminals, that came first before us. And now since we are all become odious to the People; he will no longer approve of our Proceedings, thereby to secure himself, and render us obnoxious for what is past. He therefore ought in Justice to be punisht, not only as an Enemy, but as a Traytor against us. Treason is by so much a greater mischief

chief than War, by how much 'tis more difficult to avoid a secret practise, than a barefaced Design. And 'tis yet more execrable, because an Enemy makes Peace, and keeps his Faith; but we can ne'r be reconciled to him, that we once find a Traytor; and can never trust him for the future.

I will now remind you of his former Actions, that you may understand they are habitual, and that he has *Treason in his nature. He, though he was at first the People's Creature, as his Father Hagno had been, yet appeared the most forward of any, in transferring the Democracy to the †four hundred, and was the leading man amongst them. But afterwards when he discovered a Conspiracy to be forming against the Aristocracy, he headed the People against it. Whereupon he was nicknamed the Buskin; for as that fits either Foot, so he accommodated himself to both Parties. That man (Theramenes) is not fit to live, that shews his Craft in drawing his Friends into Plots, and then leaves them in the lurch, when he finds any opposition: but he that is like the Seamen, who labour hard in a Storm, and beat it out till they come into fair weather. For otherwise how can they arrive at their desired

* Φύσιν
πρὸς δὲ τῆς.

† The Government
of Athens.

fired Port, if when they meet with any difficulty, they bend their course a different way?

All changes of Government are attended with blood: and you (Theramenes) by your inconstancy have caused several of the Aristocracy to be destroyed by the People; and many of the Democracy to be cut off by the Nobles. This is he, whom the Admirals ordered to take up the sinking men, in the Sea-fight near Lesbos, but though he did not take them up, yet he to save himself, prosecuted the Admirals, and caused them to be put to death. Why should we spare such a man, that only pursues his own Interest without regard either of honesty or friendship? Nay rather let us beware of his inconstancy, since we know it, and be before hand with him, that he may not serve us, as he has all his Friends. We therefore impeach him as a Conspirator and Traytor against his Country. Be pleased also to consider, that we do nothing contrary to Law or Justice. The Lacedemonians Constitution is esteemed the best in the World: yet if any of the Ephori should not comply with his Colleagues, but oppose their Proceedings, and speak ill of the Government: Don't you think that the rest of them, and all the States

States would not sentence him to undergo the utmost rigor of the Law. If you therefore have any regard to your own preservation, don't ye spare this man, but spare your selves, for if he escapes the Sword of Justice, he'll raise the Faction to a great height: And on the contrary if he be taken off, he will defeat their hopes, both at home, and abroad.

When Critias had ended his Speech, he sat down; and then Theramenes standing up, spoke as following. And I^{Theramenes;} (my Lords) will answer in the beginning^{his} of my Defence, what was last objected. He^{Speech.} says, that I prosecuted the Generals, and caused them to be put to death. Whereas I did not set on foot the Accusations against them: but they declared that they gave me Orders to take up those unfortunate men in the Sea-fight near Lesbos. To which I made my defence, that it was not possible to bear up to them, for the violence of the Storm, much less to take them up; and this the People thought a reasonable defence. The Admirals seemed to accuse themselves; for they declared that when they could have saved the men, they stood off, and let them perish. I don't wonder that Critias objects this against me contrary to Law, who was not present at the Action,

on, but with Prometheus in Thessaly, forming a Democracy, and arming the
 * Slaves against their Masters. Nor may
 that ever be acted here what he did in
 that Place!

* *Περίουσι*,
 a peculiar
 name a-
 mongst
 the Thessa-
 lians for
 Slaves, as
 * *Ειλωτες*
 was a-
 mongst
 the Lacede-
 monians.

I agree with him so far; that if any
 endeavour to depose you from the Govern-
 ment, & support the Conspirators; that
 man in justice ought to suffer the utmost
 rigor of the Law. And you will best de-
 termine, who does these things, if you re-
 flect on the former, and the present Acti-
 ons of us both. Whilst you were nomina-
 ting a Senate, chusing Magistrates, and
 punishing the Evidencers, we were all of
 one mind. But since (I see) men of Worth
 and Honesty taken up; I have changed my
 Opinion. I knew if we took off Leo the
 Salaminian, who both appeared, and was a
 good man, and no ways obnoxious to the
 Law, that men of the like Probity would
 become apprehensive of us, and when pos-
 sessed with a fear, would set themselves a-
 gainst the Government.

I apprehended that if you committed
 Nicias Son of Niceratus a wealthy man,
 who neither himself, nor his Father, ever
 favoured a Democracy, that you would
 thereby contract the Odium of their Par-
 ty. Moreover, when I saw you put Anti-
 pho

pho to death, who furnisht out two Gallies
 in time of War, that were good Sailors:
 I conceived you would create a jealousy in
 those that were ready to serve their Coun-
 try. When it was declared lawful for every
 one of us to seize any Forreigner, and take
 his Estate, I opposed it: for 'twas evident,
 that if these had been destroyed, all Forreig-
 ners would have been Enemies to our Coun-
 try. I contradicted the disarming of the Peo-
 ple, not thinking it our Interest to weaken
 the City thereby: for I thought the Lacede-
 monians did not intend when they pre-
 served us, that we should be disabled and
 rendered incapable of doing them any Ser-
 vice. Because if this had been their aim,
 they might have prest us a little longer
 with want of Provisions, and left never a
 man alive. Nor did I approve of hiring of
 a Guard, when we might have employed our
 own People, till such time as we the Ma-
 gistrates had reduc'd the Subjects under
 our Obedience. For when I saw there
 was a great Number of Malecontents in
 the City, and many Exiles abroad: I
 would have had neither Anytus, nor Alci-
 biades, nor Thrasybulus banisht, knowing
 the People would be reinforc'd when they
 got such experienced Leaders; and that
 enough would joyn with any, that would
 but head them.

Can

*Συκοφαν-
 τας.*

Can you in Justice therefore call him a Friend, or Traytor, that deals thus plainly with you ? Those (Critias) don't reinforce the Enemy, that prevent the Malice of some, and by their advice procure the Alliance of others : but they rather that extort money by violence, and put the innocent to death : These (Critias) are such as create a great many Enemies, and betray not only their Friends, but themselves also, for sordid gain. Now if I can't convince you of the truth of what I speak any other way, then consider, whether in your Opinion Thrasybulus, Anytus, and the other Exiles had rather those things, which I have mentioned, should be done here, or what these men do ? I believe they think they have Friends in all Places ; yet if those of the Chiefest Quality were faithful to us, they would not dare to set a foot upon Athenian Ground. As to what he objected concerning my unconstancy, as though I would comply with every Change. I desire you would observe, that the People themselves did vote the Government of four hundred, being informed that the Lacedemonians would trust any Model, rather than a Democracy. But when they would remit nothing of their rigor, and the Generals, Aristotle, Melanthius, and Aristarchus

starchus openly fortified a place with a Bulwark, intending to receive the Enemy into it, and so to have mastered the City for themselves, and Party : This I discovered and prevented. Do they call this betraying the Government ? He calls me Buskin, as though I had accommodated myself to both Parties ; Pray ! What do you call him that can please neither ? For you (Critias) were most inveterate against the People intime of the Democracy ; and you were the stiffest Opposer of the Nobles under the Aristocracy. I (Critias) am a declared Enemy to those, who won't allow that the Democracy can e'r be well established except Slaves, and such like, be made Members of it for a single groat, and would sell it as cheap as they bought it. I am also an eternal Enemy to those who are of a Belief that the Aristocracy can't be well settled, unless the Government be reduced under the Tyranny of a few. I concluded formerly that the other Model was the best, because there were those that would have ventured Life and Limb in defence of it : I am still (and unconstant as he calls me) of the same Opinion. If you (Critias) can say that I have endeavoured to remove men of Probity from the Government, either by joyning the Popular,
or

or Tyrannical Faction, speak out; and if you can convict me, that either I have attempted it now, or at any other time; I'll acknowledge that I deserve the worst of punishments. When he had made an end, the Senate murmured in favor of him, But Critias knowing that he would come off, if he permitted the Senate to pass their Suffrage on him, and thinking, that there would be no living for himself, went and discours'd it with the Thirty, and going out, placed the Guard with their Daggers openly before the Bar of the Court. And then coming in again, said. *He, Noble Snators, performs the Office of a good Patrone; that will not suffer his Clients to be circumvented, if he can help it; and I'll discharge my self like such an one. They that stand here say, they will not permit us, to let that man escape, who openly endeavours to subvert the Aristocracy. The new Laws say, that none of the three Thousand shall be put to death, without your Suffrage, and that the Thirty have power to condemn any that are not of that number: Therefore (said he) I with your General Consent strike this Theramenes out of the Catalogue; and we all pass the Sentence of Death upon him.* Theramenes hearing this, flew

Critias's
Speech.

flew to the Altar, and spake. *I humbly beg of you (my Lords) to grant me this most equitable Request, that Critias mayn't have power to strike me, or any of you out of the Catalogue, as he shall please; but that all of us may be tried by the Law which was made concerning those in the Catalogue. And though I know the Altar can't protect me, yet I'll declare the Injustice of these men to the World, and their Impiety to Heaven. I wonder that you being men of Probity, won't defend the Common Cause, when you know 'tis as easie a matter to strike out any of your Names, as it is mine.* Upon this the Thirty men's Cryer commanded the Eleven men to seize Theramenes, who coming with their Officers headed by Satyrus an importunate, and brazen faced Fellow: Critias said to them, we deliver up this man Theramenes condemned according to Law. Ye Eleven men take him, carry him to the place of Execution, and do your Office. At that word Satyrus, and the Officers haled him from the Altar. Theramenes (as 'tis usual in those Cases) implored both Gods and men to behold these their Actions. But the Senate were hush'd, seeing such Fellows as Satyrus at the Bar, and the place

I
before

Theramenes
Speech.

before the Court full of Guards, whom they knew to be armed with Daggers. When *Theramenes* was carried through the Market-place, he declared his Sufferings with a loud Voice; and one saying of his goes about still, how *Satyrus* threatned him, that if he held not his bawling, he should smart for't. Shall I not suffer then (replied he) if I hold my Tongue? At length being compelled to die by drinking Juice of Hemlock, he, as the report goes, dash't the rest on the Ground, adding, Here's an Health to honest *Critias*. And though I know these sayings of his are not worth relating, yet this deserves admiration, that he at the very point of death, neither lost his innate Prudence, nor Facetiousness. Thus died *Theramenes*.

2. Year .
of Olymp.
Enclides
Archon.
3. Of the
Olymp. Mi-
cion Ar-
chon.

The Thirty thinking they might act now as they pleased, without Controul, forbad all that were not in the Catalogue to come within the City; removing them from their Estates, that so they and their Creatures might take possession of them: and when they fled to the *Piræus*, the Thirty forced them from thence in great Numbers, so that *Megara*, and *Thebes* were filled with them.

Soon after *Thrasylbulus* marcht out of *Thebes*

Thebes with near seventy men, and surpris'd *Phyla* a strong Place. The Thirty and the three thousand went out of the City with the Horse, on a very fair day to relieve it. Upon their arrival some of the most daring Soldiers attackt the Place, where * meeting with nothing but blows, they marcht off. The Thirty intended to besiege them, and hoped to carry the Place by cutting off all their Provisions, but there fell abundance of Snow in the Night, so that next day they return'd to *Athens* † well beaten with Snow, and with the loss of a great many || Drudges, that were intercepted by those of *Phyla*. Yet apprehending that the Garrison would plunder the Countrey, unless there were Guards to repress them, they sent the greatest part of the *Lacedæmonians*, and two Troops of Horse to the Frontiers about fifteen Furlongs from *Phyla*, where they encamped in a woody place, and kept Guard.

4. Olymp.
Exenutus
Archon.

* Τραύμα-
τα δὲ λα-
βόντες.

† Νεφέμε-
νος.
|| Σκῆρα-
φάγοι.

Thrasylbulus having by this time got together about seven hundred men at *Phyla*, went out with them by Night, and making an halt about three or four Furlongs from the Enemy's Quarters, lay still. At break of day, when the Enemy had left their Arms, being gone about

their occasions, and the Grooms made a noise with carrying their Horses: *Thrasylbulus's* men took up their Arms, and fell furiously upon them, taking some, routing the rest, and pursuing them six or seven Furlongs together. There were slain of the Heavy-armed men above an hundred and twenty; of the Horse *Nicostratus* furnished the Fair, and two whom they surprised in their Beds. In their return they erected a Trophy, and getting all the Arms, and Baggage together, they retired with their Booty to *Phyla*. The Horse came out of *Athens* to their relief; But not one of the Enemy appearing, they staid till the Relations of the slain had taken them up, and then returned to the City again. From this time, the Thirty not thinking their Government secure, designed to seize upon *Eleusis*, that it might serve them for a Place of Retreat, if occasion were. Hereupon *Critias*, and the Thirty marched into *Eleusis*; where the Horse mustered the Citizens (pretending they would know how many they were, and how strong a Garrison, the Place would require) and ordered a List of their Names to be taken. He that was mustered went out at a little Gate leading to the Sea-

side;

side; where by the Shore they had posted Troopers and Serjeants, that bound every man as he came forth. When they were all taken, the Thirty ordered *Lyfimachus* Colonel of the Horse to carry and deliver them up to the Eleven men. The next day they called the Heavy-armed men that were of the * Catalogue, and * The rest of the Horse into the Odeum.^{3000.} Where *Critias* stood up, and spoke. We (said he) have constituted this Government as much for your Interest, as our own, and you must therefore as well partake of the Dangers as share in the Honors. The Eleusinians we have got together, you must put to death, that all of us may be under the same circumstances both † As by holding up of the hand: for some times they put Stones into an Urn that nobody could be discovered for what he voted. So that this last is opposed to the former. † The Museum and sick room, of Hope and Fear. Then pointing to a certain place, he commanded them to pass their Suffrages in it † openly. In the mean while the *Laconian* Guards were armed, and took up half the || Odeum. These Proceedings pleased only such as cared for their own Interest. Soon after *Thrasylbulus* having got a Body of near one thousand men at *Phyla*, came by Night to the *Piræus*. When the Thirty heard of it, they came to the Relief of their own Party, with the *Laconian* Guards, the Horse and Heavy-armed men;

and marcht in the Highway that leads to the *Piræus*. Those of *Phyla* hindred them at first from advancing, but the Place appearing to be of a large Circuit, and to require a great Garison, whereas they as yet were but a small Party, they retired in a close Body to the *Munichia*: then those of the City went into the Horse-Market marshalling their men, so as to cover the way that leads to the Temple of *Diana Munichia*, and the *Bendideum*, being no less than fifty Deep, and in this Order they advanced. They of *Phyla* drew up in the Road against them, but were not above Ten Heavy-armed men in depth: in the Rear of these were placed the Targetiers and the Light-armed Darters, supported by a good Body of Slingers that had resorted thither. In the mean time *Thrasylbulus* laying down his Shield, and commanding his men to do the like, stood in the midst of his Squadron with his other Arms, and made this Speech. *I will partly inform you (Dear Countreymen) and partly remind you, that the Enemy which charge us in the right are those that you routed five days agoe; and that they in the Rear of the left are the Thirty Tyrants that have unjustly banisht us, turned*

Thrasylbulus's
Speech.

us out of our Habitations, and proscribed our dearest Friends. Now they are come into this Place, which we always wished, and they themselves ne'r expected. Here we face them with our Swords in our hands: the Gods also appear openly in our Defence, because we were taken from our Tables, from out of our Beds, and from off the Market-place; some of us had committed no Offence, and others that were abroad, were banisht. The Gods when it served our advantage, declared themselves for us, and sent on a suddain a Storm in Calm-weather; and by their assistance though the Enemy were a Multitude, and we but an handful, yet we fought them, and erected a Trophy. Now their Providence has brought us into a Place, where the Enemy are obliged to march up Hill, so that they cannot shoot, nor dart their Javelins over their formost Ranks. On the contrary we can reach them with our Pikes, our Javelins and Stones, that we throw down the Hill, and wound a great many of them; though it was believed that we, especially our first Rank, must have engaged them upon even Ground. Now therefore if you, as becomes your selves, will courageously dart your Javelins, you cannot miss, for the Road is covered with them; and if they

stand upon their Guard, they must always skulk under their Shields, so that we as it were engaging with Blindmen, shall at our pleasure wound them, fly upon them, and rout them. But (Dear Countreymen and Fellow-Soldiers) every man of you must acquit himself, as if he were sensible that he alone should be the cause of the Victory. A Victory, that (by the favour of Heaven) shall restore our Countrey, Habitations, Liberty, Preferments, Wives, and Children to those that have them. Happy are those amongst us that shall live to see this Victory, to behold the most joyful day that ever was. Happy! the man that falls, for none how wealthy soever can obtain so glorious a Monument. As soon as it is time. I'll begin the Pæan, and when we invoke Mars, let us go with a joynt Resolution to revenge on our Enemies the Insolencies we have suffered from them. Having ended his Speech he faced about to the Enemy, but moved not forward, because the Priest had charged them not to fall on, before one of their men were either killed or wounded. When this happens, I'll lead you on (said the Priest) and you shall obtain the Victory, though perhaps I shall be slain. Nor was he mistaken, for as soon as the Army had taken

up

up their Shields, he as it were hurried on by a certain fatality, flew out one of the formost; where charging the Enemy he was killed, and afterwards buried by the Ferry over the *Cephissus*. The rest got the Victory, and pursued the Enemy down the Hill to the plain Ground. There were slain of the Thirty *Critias* and *Hippomachus*, of the Ten Commanders in the *Piræus* *Charmides* the Son of *Glauco*, and about seventy others. They stripped none of their Countreymen, but took away their Arms only, and afterwards restored their Bodies upon truce. Then several drawing near together, began a Parly, and Silence being made, *Cleocritus* Cryer of the *Mystæ*, ^{those that were Initiated the first year, they afterwards being called ἐνόπριαι & ἑνόπριαι, Suidas.} having a strong voice, made this Speech to them. Why (Dear Countreymen) do you banish us? Why do you thirst after our Blood? we never did injure you, we have all frequented the same Magnificent Temples, the Sumptuous Feasts, and Splendid Sacrifices: We have performed the same Exercises, we have had our Education together, we have served under the same Generals, and we have exposed ourselves to many dangers with you, both by Sea and Land, for our common Preservation and Liberty. We beseech you by the

Gods

Gods of your Fathers and Mothers, by your Friends, Kindred, and Relations (by some of which we are all allied to one another) to revere Heaven, and have regard to man. Forbear any longer to persecute your Countreymen, and don't submit to those Villains, the Thirty Tyrants, who for their private gain have murdered almost more in eight Months time, than the Peloponnesian War has consumed in ten Tears space. When we might have lived peaceably together, they raised amongst us, a most shameful, cruel, and detestable War, hateful both to Gods and men. And assure your selves, not only you, but we also shall lament those we have lately slain. After he had ended his Speech, the Magistrates having heard what he said, retired with their men into the City. Next Day the Thirty appeared much dejected, and sat alone in Council; the three thousand also wheresoever they were posted fell at variance. Those that had been the most violent men and apprehended they should be brought into trouble, declared they ought to persist, and not comply with those in the *Piræus*. But as many as knew themselves to be Innocent became more considerative, shewing that their troubles might be composed; that they were

were not obliged to obey the Thirty, nor suffer their Countrey to be ruined. In conclusion it was decreed that the Thirty should be removed from the Government, and others chosen. Accordingly there were Ten Elected, one out of each Tribe; Upon this the Thirty retired to *Eleusis*.

The Ten with the Colonels of Horse had care of the City, which was in great disorder, every one being jealous one of another. The Cavalry lay all Night with their Horses and Shields in the *Odeum*; and in the Evening, having a suspicion of all, they went the Rounds with their Bucklers. In the Morning they mounted, expecting to be attackt by those in the *Piræus*, where there was abundance of men of all sorts, making themselves Arms of Wood and Osiers, and whiting them over. Before ten days were at an end they of the *Piræus* gave their Faith to all that would joyn them, as also equal Privileges to Aliens: whereupon several Heavy and Light armed men with about seventy Horse came over to them: from the *Piræus* they made Excursions to get Wood and Fruit, but quartered every Night there. Of those in the City none went out armed except the Horse, who sometimes

times meeting with the Forragers of the *Piræus*, did their Battalion some mischief. Another time they met with some Young men, who did not belong to the City, but were going to fetch some Necessaries from their Estates; these *Lyfmachus* Colonel of the Horse, put to the Sword, though they begged hard for their lives; which some of his Cavalry resented very ill. In return, the Horse of the *Piræus* took *Callistratus*, one of the Tribe of *Leontis* in the Country, and killed him, being so much animated that they made their Excursions up to the very Walls of the City.

There was at that time an Ingenier in *Athens* (if this be worth relating) who apprehending that the Enemy were bringing their Engines to the Course, by the way that leads from the *Lyceum*, ordered huge Stones of a Load weight to be carried in Draughts, and thrown down in several places in the Course, which was accordingly done, and each Stone created the Enemy a great deal of Trouble. Then the Thirty and those of the Catalogue in the City sent Ambassadors from *Eleusis* to *Lacedemon*, desiring Succors because the People had revolted from the *Lacedemonians*. *Lyfander* supposing it would be

no

no great difficulty to reduce those in the *Piræus*, if they were blockt up by Sea and Land, and their Provisions cut off, procured an hundred Talents to be lent ^{18750 l. Sterling.} them, himself to go General, and his Brother *Libys* Admiral.

Then setting forward towards *Eleusis*, he raised a strong Body of *Peloponnesian* Heavy-armed men; whilst the Admiral took care that no Provisions could be carried in by Sea; whereby those in the *Piræus* were soon distressed. On the contrary those in the City were much animated at the presence of *Lyfander*. Whilst Affairs stood thus, *Pausanias* the King envying *Lyfander*, for that he by those Exploits would both become famous, and render himself Lord of *Athens*, perswaded three of the *Ephori* to draw out the Garrison. All the Confederates, except the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, concurred with him; which last declared that they could not save their Oath by making War against the *Athenians*, who had acted nothing contrary to the League. Which they did out of a Belief that the *Lacedemonians* would reduce the *Athenians* Countrey into the Form of a Province.

Pausanias had his Camp on the Right in a Place called *Halipedum*, and *Lyfander*

Where
they run
races.

der with the *Mercenaries* on the left. *Pausanias* sent a Message to those in the *Piræus*, commanding them to depart to their respective homes, but they regarded him not. So he made an attack to stop the *Lacedemonians* Mouths, lest he should seem to favour the Enemy. After the Assault he drew off without having effected any thing; and taking with him two Battalions of *Lacedemonians*, with three Troops of *Athenian* Horse, he marcht to Port *Cophus* to view where he might open his Trenches against the *Piræus*, with the greatest conveniency. As he retired, some fell upon his Rear, and created him some trouble which provoked him to that degree, that he commanded his Horse to charge with full speed, as also those that were ten years past man's estate to second them, and followed with the rest himself. They killed about thirty Light-armed men, and received the rest into the Theater in the *Piræus*, where all the Targetiers and Heavy-armed men were arming themselves; whereupon the Light-armed men instantly sallied out, darting their Javelins, throwing, shooting, and slinging. The *Lacedemonians* having several of their men wounded, and being prest hard re-

treated

treated gently; upon that the Enemy followed them the closer: There were killed *Choro* and *Thibrachus* both Colonels, with *Leucrates* that had won the *Prize in the *Olympick* Games, and others of the *Lacedemonians*, that were buried before the Gates in the *Ceramicus*.

* He was placed before the King in battel.

When *Thraſybulus* and the other Heavy-armed men observed this, they went with Succors, and drew up immediately before the rest eight deep. *Pausanias* being prest hard, and retreating about four or five Furlongs to a certain Hill, commanded the *Lacedemonians*, and Allies to march up to him. There he marshalled his Battalion a great depth, and charged the *Athenians*, who closed with him; some of which were afterwards driven into the Clay by *Halæ*, the rest put to flight, and about an hundred and fifty of them slain. *Pausanias* erected a Trophy, and marched off. Notwithstanding all this he was not so much irritated against the *Athenians*, but that he sent a private Message for them to dispatch Ambassadors to him, and the *Ephori* that were there, informing them what they should say. They did as *Pausanias* directed, who raised Divisions amongst the People in the City, and ordered them to come to him and

and the *Ephori* in a Body, and declare that there was no ground for making a War against those in the *Piræus*, that both Parties ought to come to an Accommodation, and enter into an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*.

Naucidas the *Ephorus* was well pleased to hear this; he and another being there at that time according to the custom that obliges two of the *Ephori* to attend the King in his Expeditions: who both were more inclined to favor *Pausanias*, than *Lyfander*. Whereupon they sent Deputies very willingly from the *Piræus* with Conditions of Peace, as also *Cephisophon* and *Melitus*, who went out of the City upon their own private account. When they were dispatht thither, several others went from the Body of the City to acquaint the *Lacedemonians* that they furrendred themselves and City upon discretion, and that they thought it reasonable, if those of the *Piræus* declared themselves to be Allies of the *Lacedemonians*, that they also ought to deliver up the *Piræus*, and *Munichia*. After they had their Audience, the *Ephori*, and the * General Assembly dispatht fifteen men to *Athens*, that they and *Pausanias* should joyntly make Peace with the

* ΕΚΚΛΗΝΗΣ, the Assembly of all the *Lacedemonians* opposed to the *μυρεσι βουλευται*, which consisted of the Magistrates, and deliberated about matters of less consequence, *Cragias*.

the *Athenians* upon the fairest terms they could.

A Peace was made upon these Conditions, that the *Athenians* should agree together, and that every man should return to his former Station, only the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten, that Commanded in the *Piræus*, were to be excepted; and if any in the City apprehended themselves to be obnoxious, they might remove to *Eleusis*. *Pausanias* having transacted these Affairs, drew off his Army. Those in the *Piræus* marcht up with their Arms to the *Arsenal*, and sacrificed to *Minerva*. After the Commanders returned from thence, *Thrasylbulus* made this Speech to them. My Advice to you ^{Thrasylbulus's} (Dear Countrey men that staid in the City) is; that you would learn to know yourselves, and that you'll be able best to do, if you would recollect, what reason you have either to have so great a conceit of yourselves, or to usurp over us. 'Tis not because you are honestest than we, for the People of meaner Fortunes than your selves, have at no time injured you for money, though you that are of such plentiful Estates, have done several sordid things, for base Gain. Since therefore you have no pretence to Honesty, see if you have any reason to be proud

Κλειδς was
a kind of
a pair of
Stocks
that they
tied the
Neck and
Hands of
Malefa-
ctors. lib.
3. Hellen.

proud of your Valour. And how can we make a better estimate of that than from the late Action betwixt us. Perhaps! because you are supported by Garisons, Men, Money, and the Alliance of the Peloponnesians, you'll pretend to a greater share of Prudence than we: Nevertheless you have been over-reacht by them, that were destitute of all these Helps. Do you think you may value your selves upon your dependance on the Lacedemonians? How can you do that? for they have delivered you up to the People you oppress, and are gone their way. Like those that muzzle biting Dogs, and then leave them to the mercy of those they have mischieved. neither do I (Dear Countreymen) require you to violate your Oath in the least; but I perswade you rather amongst your other Virtues, to show how religiously you can keep it, and what men of Integrity you are.

Having said this, and more to the same purpose. He told them that they needed not be in that confusion they were, provided they would be governed by their Ancient Laws; and so dismissed the Assembly. Accordingly they chose Magistrates to administer the Government. A little after understanding that those of
Eleusis

Eleusis were bringing in a Foreign Power, they went against them with their whole Strength, and taking their Commanders that came to treat, cut them in pieces. They sent also the Friends and Relations of the rest to them, and perswaded them to an Accommodation: Then the People swearing to forget all former Injuries, kept their Oath, and still live peaceably together.

XENOPHON'S History
OF THE
Affairs of Greece.

LIB. III.

THE CONTENTS.

The Heroick Mania succeeds her Husband in his Province, and is barbarously murder'd by Zenis, her Son in Law. Agis dies, and Agesilaus succeeds him. Cinado's Plot. Agesilaus's Expedition into Asia. The War breaks out between the Thebans and Lacedemonians. Lyfander is slain before the Walls of Halicartus.

THus ended the Sedition at Athens. Soon after Cyrus sent Messengers to Lacedemon, requiring that Republick
K 3 to

to make him a suitable Return for the Service he had done them in the *Athenian* War. The *Ephori* thinking it a reasonable request, sent their Admiral *Samius* Orders to assist him if there were occasion, who willingly complied with *Cyrus*, in all his Commands; for failing about with his own, and *Cyrus's* Fleet to *Cilicia*, he gave *Syenneſis* the Governour thereof such diversion, that he could make no opposition by Land, whilst *Cyrus* marcht against the King of *Persia*. * But after

* *Cyrus* undertook his expedition in the fourth year of the 94 Olymp. when *Exenetus* was Archon Diod. Sic. Olymp. 95. *Laches* Archon.

what manner *Cyrus* got an Army together, and made an Expedition against his Brother, how the Fight hapned, how he was slain, and how the *Greeks* got safe to the Sea-side, *Themistogenes* the *Syracusan*, has written.

After this *Tissaphernes* being highly esteemed, by the King, for his Service in the War against his Brother, and being made Governour both of the Provinces he ruled before, as also those that *Cyrus* had; he forthwith required all the *Ionic* Cities to yield him Obedience. But they being desirous to maintain their Liberty, and fearing *Tissaphernes*, because they had chosen *Cyrus* (while living) to be their Governour in his stead, did not receive him within their Cities, but sent

Ambassadors

Ambassadors to *Lucedemon*, desiring, that they, being Protectors of all *Greece*, would extend their care to the *Greeks* in *Asia* too, that their Country might not be destroyed, and that their Liberty might be preserved.

Hereupon the *Lacedemonians* sent *Thimbro* General, ordering him about one thousand of the Half-Slaves, and four thousand other *Peloponesians*, desiring of the *Athenians* three hundred Horse, besides these Forces, and undertook to pay them himself. They sent him three hundred of those, that served under the Thirty Tyrants, supposing it would be no loss to the People, to have them sent abroad, and knockt on the head. When they arrived in *Asia*, he drew some Forces out of the *Greek* Garisons in the Continent: for all the Cities obeyed, because a *Lacedemonian* Commanded. *Thimbro* with these Forces observed the Enemies Horse, but did not take the Field with his Army, being contented only to preserve the Countrey, where he was, from Depredations. But after those that went in the Expedition with *Cyrus*, returned safe home, and joyned him; he marcht into the Field against *Tissaphernes*, and took upon surrender *Pergamus*, *Teuthrania*, and *Hali-*

Λευκ. ἱππὶ-
δευτο.

He was banisht
Sparta and
followed
Xerxes in
his Expedition
into Greece.
Diod. Sic.
Lib. XI.

Sarnia, the Province of *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles* descended of *Demaratus* the *Lacedemonian*, on whom the King of *Persia* had conferred this Government, as a Reward for his Service against *Greece*. Also *Gorgio* and *Gongylus* two Brothers, came over to him; whereof the one held *Gambrium* and *Palægambrium*, the other *Myrina* and *Grynium*; which Towns the King gave to *Gongylus*, because he was the only man amongst the *Eretrians*, that was banisht for adhering to the *Persian* Interest.

Thimbro took some weak Places by Assault, and setting down before *Larissa*, which is called *Ægyptia*, he besieged it, because it would not surrender. But being not able to master the place any other way, he carried a Mine to cut off a Well, designing thereby to deprive them of Water. The Besieged making frequent Sallies, and throwing Wood and Stones into the Trench: he made an Engine of Wood, and mounted it upon the Wall. This also the *Larissians*, sallying out by Night, burnt. Thereupon the *Ephori* thinking he did them no Service, sent him Orders to rise from before *Larissa*, and march with his Army into *Caria*. When he was at *Ephesus* in order to his Voyage

Voyage thither, there came *Dercyllidas*, who had the reputation of being a skilful Engenier, being thereupon Surnamed *Sisyphus*, and took upon him the Command of the Army. *Thimbro* returned home, and being accused by the Confederates for suffering his Forces to pillage the Allies, was fined and banished.

Dercyllidas after he had taken Command of the Army, perceiving that there was no good understanding between *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, had a Conference with the former, and entred *Pharnabazus's* Province, chusing rather to make War with one, than both. Besides *Dercyllidas* was formerly disgusted with *Pharnabazus*; for, being Governour of *Abydus*, when *Lysander* was Admiral, *Pharnabazus* complained of him, and thereupon he was confined to stand with a Shield (which the Valiant *Lacedemonians* esteem a disgrace, because 'tis a punishment for deserting their Order in Battel) so that for this Cause also, he went with more satisfaction against him. He in a short while so far surpassed *Thimbro* in Conduct, that he marcht through the Confederates Countrey to *Æolis* the Government of *Pharnabazus*, without any Injury done to the Allies.

The *Æolis* belonged to *Pharnabazus's* Province

Province which *Zenis* the *Dardanian* held under him with the Title of *Satrapas*, for term of Life. When he died, and *Pharnabazus* was designing to confer the Government on another; *Mania*, *Zenis* his Wife a *Dardanian*, went to him with her Troops, and Money, which she carried to present *Pharnabazus* withal, as also to oblige his Misses, and other Favourites. When she was admitted to his Presence, she address her self to him after this manner. *My Husband* (*Pharnabazus*) *was your Ally, and paid his Tribute so punctually, that you both praised, and honoured him. And if I can serve you as well, why will you prefer any other to the Government? If I do not give you satisfaction, it will still remain in your Power to take the Province from me, and confer it on another.* When *Pharnabazus* heard her say so, he determined that she should be Governess of the Province.

Afterwards being settled in her Government, she paid the Tribute as exactly as her Husband; and when ever she went to wait upon *Pharnabazus*, she always carried him Presents; and when he came into her Province, she gave him a most Magnificent Reception, and more to his satisfaction, than any of the other Deputy

Deputy Governors. Nor did she only defend those Towns which she at first took under her Charge; but, the Maritime Towns, *Larissa*, *Amaxitus*, and *Colonnæ*, which would not yield her Obedience, she reduced. When the Mercenary *Greeks* attackt the Places, she her self beheld them from her Chariot, and whoever deserved her Commendation, she liberally rewarded: whereby she made her Mercenaries very brave men. She also attended *Pharnabazus* in his Expeditions against the *Mysians*, and *Pisidians*; who at that time infested the King of *Persia's* Territories. Insomuch that *Pharnabazus* had a great Veneration for her, and sometimes admitted her to his Councils. But when she was somewhat past forty years of Age, *Midias*, her Daughter's Husband, being egged on by the Speeches of some, who suggested to him that 'twas a dishonour for him to lead a private life, and live under the Domination of a Woman; observing that she had a watchful eye upon others, as Supreme Magistrates commonly have; but reposed confidence in him, and treated him with that familiarity that a Mother does her Son in Law, went into her Chamber (as 'tis reported) and strangled her. He killed also

also her Son about seventeen years Old, a very comely Personage.

When he had perpetrated this Villany, he siezed upon *Scepsis* and *Gergis*, two strong Towns, where the greatest part of *Mania's* Treasure was. The Garisons in the other Towns would not receive him, but kept the Places for *Pharnabazus*. Soon after *Midias* requesting that he might have the Province on the same Conditions *Mania* enjoyed it. *Pharnabazus* returned him this Answer, that he should keep his Presents till he came himself to fetch them, and him too. Adding, he wisht not to live, without revenging *Mania's* Death.

In this Juncture comes *Dercyllidas*, and forthwith in the same day *Larissa*, *Hamaxitus*, and *Colona* Maritime Towns, surrendred themselves to him. He sent Messengers also to the *Æolian* Cities, requiring them to resume their Liberty, to receive him within their Walls, and to make an Alliance. The *Neandrians*, *Ilians*, and *Cocylites* complied with his Demands, because the *Greek* Garisons in them had misbehaved themselves after *Mania's* Death. But the Governour of *Cebren* a very strong Place, hoping *Pharnabazus*, if he defended it, would prefer him,

him, did not receive *Dercyllidas*. He enraged hereat, prepared to assault the Place; but being unsuccessful in the first days Sacrifice, he repeated it the following, and when he had no better Success in that neither, he sacrificed again the third, and so continued on to the fourth; being extremely troubled, because he hastned to make himself Master of all the *Æolis*, before *Pharnabazus* could arrive with Supplies. *Athenadas* a certain *Sicyonian* Captain, imagining *Dercyllidas* trifled away his time, and that he himself was able to cut off the *Cebrenians* Water, fell on with his own Company, and attempted to stop up a Fountain; but they of the Town, sallying out, wounded him, killed two, threw their Darts, and Javelins, and repulsed them.

Whiles *Dercyllidas* was grieving there at, supposing the Soldiers would make their Attacks with less Vigor; there came some Heralds out of the Town from the *Greeks*, declaring they did not approve of their Governors Proceedings, and that they would rather serve the *Greeks* than the *Barbarians*; and as they were conferring about these things, one came from the Governour to acquaint them, that he would confirm what the first proposed. Thereupon

Thereupon *Dercyllidas* after he had successfully sacrificed, ordered his men immediately the same day to their Arms, and marcht up to the Gates, the *Greeks* set them open, and received him; where he placed a Garison, and went directly to *Scepsis*, and *Gergis*. *Midias* being in continual apprehension of *Pharnabazus*, and fearing the Townsmen, sent to acquaint *Dercyllidas*, that if he would give Hostages, he would come to a Parly. *Dercyllidas* sent him one out of each of the Confederate Cities, bidding him take as many as he pleased, and whom he would: he took ten of them, and went out to parly.

When he came to discourse *Dercyllidas*, he askt him upon what Terms he might make an Alliance. He told him on condition, that he restored the Citizens their Liberty, and permitted them to be governed by their own Laws. When he had given him this Answer, he marcht on towards *Scepsis*. *Midias* being sensible it was not possible for him by force to prevent his Design without the Citizens Consent, permitted him to enter the Town. *Dercyllidas* having sacrificed to *Minerva* in the Citadel of *Scepsis*, thrust out *Midias's* Garrison, and delivered up
the

the Town to the Citizens, exhorting them to live under such a Government as became *Greeks*, and Freemen. Afterwards when he left the Town, and set forward towards *Gergis*, several of the *Scepsians* attended him out of Honour, and Respect for the Service he had done them. *Midias* also following in the Retinue, desired that *Gergis* might be put into his Possession: *Dercyllidas* told him that he should have Justice done him; and having said so, marcht up to the Gates with *Midias*, the Army following two in Rank in a peaceable manner.

The Garison discovering *Midias* in his Company from the lofty Turrets, forbore darting. But *Dercyllidas* saying to *Midias*, command the Gates to be opened, and conduct me to the Temple, that I may sacrifice there to *Minerva*. *Midias* was very loath to cause the Gates to be opened, but yielded to it at last, fearing he should be instantly siezed. As soon as he entred the Town in company of *Midias*, he went to the Citadel, and having posted his Soldiers upon the Walls, he with the rest sacrificed to *Minerva*. After the Sacrifice he commanded *Midias's* Guards to stand to their Arms, in the Front of his Army, for being *Midias*
was

was not any longer in danger, they should now serve under him: Whereupon *Midias* not knowing how to behave himself, said to *Dercyllidas*; I am going to make some reception for you. No replied *Dercyllidas*, it would look ill, for me to receive an Entertainment from you, now I have sacrificed, seeing I ought rather to entertain you. Stay therefore with me, and whiles Supper is making ready, we will adjust the Differences betwixt us.

Because
they that
sacrificed,
feasted
their
Friends.

When they were sat, *Dercyllidas* examined him after this manner. *Midias* (said he) did your Father leave you Heir of your Family? Yes, said he. Then says *Dercyllidas*, what Manors, what Arable, what Pasture have you? Whiles he was setting down an account of them, the *Scepsians* that were present, said; Sir, he imposes on you. Don't ye (said *Dercyllidas*) be too particular. At length when he had given an Inventory of his Patrimonial Estate. Tell me, said *Dercyllidas*, who did *Mania* belong to? All cried to *Pharnabazus*. Is not therefore (said he) her Estate *Pharnabazus* his? Yes, said they. Then it is ours (said he) since we have obtained the Victory, for *Pharnabazus* is our Enemy. Therefore (said

Μικρο-
γαστε.

(said he) let somebody show us where *Mania's* and *Pharnabazus's* Treasure is: upon that some conducted him to *Mania's* House, which *Midias* had seized, and he himself followed thither: after he had entered the House, he called for the Treasurers, and commanded his Officers to seize them; denouncing, that if they were taken stealing of *Mania's* Goods, they should be instantly put to death.

After they had shown all, and he had taken a view of them, he locked and sealed them up, appointing a Guard over them. At his going out he spoke to the Captains and Commanders, whom he found at the door, we (said he) have procured very near a Years pay for eight thousand men, and if we get any thing else, that also shall be yours. This he acquainted them with, knowing when they heard it, that they would be in much better Discipline, and more observant of their Duty. When *Midias* asked him, saying, Where must I dwell? *Dercyllidas* made answer, in *Scepsis*, where 'tis most fitting for you, it being your own Countrey, and Father's House.

Dercyllidas having dispatcht these Affairs, and taken nine Cities in eight days; consulted, how he might not be trouble-
some

some to the Allies, as *Thimbro* was, by wintering in a Friend's Countrey, and how *Pharnabazus* might not in defiance of him infect the *Greek Towns* with his Horse. Thereupon he sent to him, and demanded whether he would have Peace or War. *Pharnabazus* considering that *Æolis* lay as a Bulwark against *Phrygia*, his own Province, accepted a Truce; and when it was concluded, *Dercyllidas* went to *Bithynica Thracia*, where he had his Winter Quarters, which *Pharnabazus* was not much concerned at, because the *Bithynians* had several times made War upon him. Here *Dercyllidas* ravaged, and spoiled the Countrey with great security, and procured plenty of Provisions.

Afterwards when some Auxiliaries sent by *Seuthes*, being about two hundred *Odrysian* Horse, and three hundred Targetiers, arrived from the other side of the Water, they encamped, and fortified themselves about twenty Furlongs from the *Greeks*, and demanded of *Dercyllidas* a Guard of Heavy-armed men for their Camp; and going out to forage, took a great many Slaves, and much Spoil. Their Camp being now full of Prisoners, and the *Bithynians* having Intelligence how many of the *Greeks* went out, and what number

number of them staid behind to defend it, assembled a strong Body of their Forces together, both Targetiers, and Horse, and about day fell upon their Heavy-armed men, being near two hundred. As they advanced they threw their Lances, and darted their Javelins; when the *Greeks* saw themselves wounded, and killed, not being able to do any thing, for that they were shut up within a Rampart of a man's height, they broke it down, and sallied out upon them. But the *Bithynians* being Targetiers, retreated wherever they were charged, and easily avoided the Heavy-armed *Greeks*; then they galled them on all sides with their Darts, and laid in every effort several of them dead on the Ground. At last they were cooped up, as it were in a Pen, and cut all in pieces, except fifteen that escaped to the *Greeks* Camp, who as soon as they perceived the Enemy's Design, escaped immediately in the Skirmish, undiscovered by the *Bithynians*.

The *Bithynians* having performed this Action expeditiously, and killed several of those *Odrysian Thracians*, that guarded the Tents, recovered all their Prisoners, and departed. So that the *Greeks* having Intelligence, and coming with

Succours, found nothing in the Camp but the naked Carcasses. The *Odrysians* after they returned, buried their dead, drinking good store of Wine over them, and celebrated Horse-races; and at last joyning the *Grecian Army*, they harassed and burned *Bithynia*.

Aristocrates Archon.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Dercyllidas* left the *Bithynians*, and marcht to *Lampsacus*: whilst he was here, there came to him *Aracus Navates*, and *Antisthenes* sent by the Magistrates at home; who amongst other things were to inspect how Affairs stood in *Asia*, and to acquaint *Dercyllidas*, that he was to continue in his Command the following Year, that the *Ephori* commanded them to call the Soldiers together, and inform them, that they blamed them for their former Actions, but in that they had done no Injuries of late, they commended them, and to let them know, that for the future, if they did any Mischief, it would not be endured; but if they carried themselves justly to the Allies, they should be praised.

After they had assembled the Soldiers together, and spoke thus to them, the General of *Cyrus's Troops* made Answer, *We (My Lords) are the same men now, that we were last year, but our General is*
another

another sort of a Person than the former was; from which you may easily apprehend the reason, why we don't offend now, as we did before. The Commissioners from home being received in the same Tent with *Dercyllidas*, one of *Aracus's* Retinue, informed them, that they left the Deputies from the *Chersonites* at *Lacedemon*; who reported that the *Chersonese* could not be manured, for that they were plundered and spoyled by the *Thracians*, unless a *Wall* were built from Sea to Sea; and then they might not only have a large and fertile Countrey for themselves, but for as many of the *Lacedemonians* as would, to plant. Declaring they wondered some *Lacedemonians* had not been sent by the Republick already with Forces to effect it. *Dercyllidas* hearing this, did not discover his own Opinion, but dismissed them from *Ephesus* to go and visit the *Greek Towns*, being pleased, for that they would find them in a peaceable and flourishing Condition. So the Commissioners departed, and *Dercyllidas* knowing he was continued in Command, sent again to *Pharnabazus*, and demanded of him, whether he would have Peace as he had the former Winter, or War. *Pharnabazus* chose Truce; so *Dercyllidas*
 L 3 leaving

leaving the Confederate Towns in the Neighbourhood in Peace, passed the *Hellespont* with his Army into *Europe*; marching through that part of *Thrace* which was in Amity with them, where he was entertained by *Seuthes*, and arrived at the *Chersonese*. When he understood that there were eleven or twelve Towns in it, and that it was a very fruitful and rich Countrey, but reported to be infested by the *Thracians*, he surveyed it, and finding the *Isthmus* to be thirty seven Furlongs over, he without any more delay, sacrificed, and walled it in, dividing the space amongst the Soldiers into several Parts, and promised Rewards to them that finished theirs first, and to the rest according to the proportion of their merit. So the Wall that he began in the Spring, he finished before Autumn, and inclosed within it eleven Cities, several Ports, abundance of good arable Land, a great quantity of which was sowed, as also large and rich Pastures, stored with all sorts of Cattel.

After he had performed this, he re-passed into *Asia*, and visited the Towns there, which he found were all in a good condition, save only that the Exiles of *Chios*, had siezed upon *Atarna*, a strong Place, and

and made Excursions thence, supporting themselves by ravaging, and destroying *Ionia*. He hearing that there was store of Provision in the place, sat down before it, and besieged it, forcing the Townsmen within eight Months to surrender. He constituted *Draco* the *Pellenian*, Governour of the Place, and having stored it plentifully with all sorts of Provisions, that he might have a Place of Reception ^{Karazawh} whenever he came thither, he marcht to *Ephesus*; which is three days Journey distant from *Sardes*.

Till this time, *Tissaphernes*, and *Dercyllidas*, as also the *Greeks*, and *Barbarians* in those Parts were at Peace; but after there went Ambassadors from the *Greek Towns* to *Lacedemon*, and reported that *Tissaphernes* had power, if he would, to restore the *Greek Cities* their own Laws, and that he would soon be obliged to grant them their Liberty, if they did but harass the Province of *Caria*, his Residence: The *Ephori* being informed hereof, sent *Dercyllidas* Orders to fall into *Caria* with the Army, and *Pharax* the Admiral to coast along with the Fleet. They both observed their Orders. It hapned about this time, that *Pharnabazus* came to *Tissaphernes*, partly because the

latter was chosen *Generalissimo*, and partly to assure him of his readiness to make a joint War with him, as also to assist him in driving the *Greeks* out of the King's Territories. Otherwise he envied *Tissaphernes* his Command of General, and resented it very ill, for that he had been deprived of the Province of *Æolis*. After he had heard his Proposals, *Tissaphernes* said to him, First pass with me into *Caria*, and then we will advise about these things; when they arrived there, it was thought convenient to place strong Garisons in the walled Towns, and then to return into *Ionia*.

As soon as *Dercyllidas* heard they had repassed the *Mæander*, he informed *Pharax*, that he feared *Tissaphernes*, and *Pharnabazus* would over-run, and ravage the Countrey, which was defenseless, whereupon he passed the *Mæander* too. The *Greeks* marched with their Troops in no good Order, because the Enemy had entred the Countrey about *Ephesus* before them; where on a sudden they discovered the *Lacedemonians* from the opposite Watch-Towers on the Monuments. On the other hand the *Greeks* sent some up into the Monuments and Towers, which they were possessed of, and espied the Enemy drawn up in

in *Battalia*, in the way they were to march, being the *Carians* with their white Bucklers, and the *Persians* that were there, together with all the *Greek* Troops that both of them had, and a vast Body of Horse, *Tissaphernes* having the right Wing, and *Pharnabazus* the left. When *Dercyllidas* perceived this, he ordered the Commanders of the Heavy-armed men, and Captains, instantly to draw up eight deep, and place the Targets and Horse in both Wings, whilst he in the mean time sacrificed. The *Peloponnesians* made a stand, and prepared for a Charge, but the *Prienians*, *Achilleans*, *Islanders*, and those of the *Ionian* Towns threw down their Arms in the Corn (which was thick in the Vale of *Mæander*) and those that stood their Ground, made shew as if they would not long maintain it.

The report was, that *Pharnabazus* advised to come to a Battel, but *Tissaphernes* recollecting after what manner *Cyrus* his Army had received him, and imagining all *Greeks* were like those, refused to engage, and sent to *Dercyllidas*, acquainting him that he would come, and have a Conference with him. *Dercyllidas* taking the goodliest Persons both of his Horse and Foot, went forth to the Deputies,

Deputies, and thus accosted them. *I had indeed prepared for Battel, as you see, yet since Tissaphernes desires a Parly, I won't oppose it; though if there be a Conference, there must be Pledges and Hostages exchanged on both sides.* When this was agreed upon, the Armies marcht off: the Barbarians to Tralles in Phrygia; and the Greeks to Leucophrys, where there is a Temple of Diana, held in great Veneration, and a Pool above a Furlong; in Circumference somewhat Sandy, being fed with a Spring, whose Water is both potable, and warm: And this was that days Transaction.

The day following they came to the Place appointed, and there determined to understand from each other, upon what Terms they should make a Peace. Dercyllidas proposd, that the King of Persia should restore the Greek Towns to their Liberty. On the contrary Tissaphernes insistd to have the Greek Army drawn out of the King's Territories, and the Lacedemoian Governours out of the Greek Towns. At this Conference they made a Truce till such time as Dercyllidas had sent the Proposals to Lacedemon, and Tissaphernes to the King.

Whilst Dercyllidas was settling Affairs in Asia,

Asia, the Lacedemonians being formerly prvoked by the Eleans, the Ephori and whole Assembly resolv'd to humble them, because they had made an Alliance with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, and drove them from the Horse-races and

* Gymnick Games, pretending the Lacedemonians were condemned in a Fine to them; nor yet being satisfied with this, had whipt † Lichas an ancient man, and thrown him out of the Foot-race, because he had delivered the Chariot to the Thebans, and attempted to crown them with Garlands, after they had been declared Victors by the Cryers, and because they had opposd † Agis in making of Vows for the Success of the War, though he went by the direction of the Oracle to sacrifice to Jupiter, and obliged him to depart without sacrificing; affirming it was against an ancient Custom for Greeks to consult Oracles, when they made War against Greeks.

Thereupon they sent Ambassadors to Elis, and declared that the Lacedemonian Magistrates thought it equitable, that they should restore the adjacent Cities to their Liberty. The Eleans made Answer, That they should not comply with them herein, for that they had acquired those Towns by the Sword; upon that the Ephori

* They were five, leaping, running, Quoits, fighting at Whorle-bats and Wrestling. P. Fab. Agon. † Thucyd. lib. 5.

War with the Eleans.

Ephori ordered an Army to be raised, which *Agis* commanded, and fell with it into the *Eleans* Territory by the way of *Achaia* near *Larissa*. When the Army had newly entred the Enemy's Country, and were destroying it, there hapned an Earthquake; which *Agis* imagining to be from Heaven, marched out of their Territories, and disbanded his Army. Hereby the *Eleans* were animated, and sent Ambassadors to those Cities they understood were disaffected to the *Lacedemonians*.

Rhycles
Archon.

When this Year was elaps'd, the *Ephori* ordered *Agis* to be sent with another Army against *Elis*, the *Athenians* too with the rest of the Confederates except the *Bæotians*, and *Corinthians* joyned him. After *Agis* had entred the *Elean's* Country through *Aulon*, the *Lepreans* forthwith revolted from them, and joyned him; and a while after the *Macistians*, as also their Neighbours the *Epitalians*. When he had passed the River *Alpheus*, the *Letrians*, *Amphidolians*, and *Marganeans* came over to him; then he went to *Olympia*, and sacrificed to *Jupiter Olympius*, nor did any presume to hinder him. After he had sacrificed, he marched to the City *Olympia* destroying, and burning the

the Country, and carried off abundance of Cattel, and Prisoners. Infomuch that several of the *Arcadians*, and *Achæans* hearing of it, went voluntarily into the Army, and partook of the Spoil, this Campagne being like an Harvest to *Peeloponesus*. When he came to the City he destroyed the Suburbs, and the School which was a fair Structure. As for the City, it being unwall'd, 'twas thought he rather would not, than that he could not, take it. The Country being thus laid wast, and the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Cyllene*: *Xenias* his Complices, according to the Proverb, measuring their Father's Money by the Bushel, intended by their own Power to deliver up their Country to the *Lacedemonians*, and rushing out of an House with their Swords, made a Slaughter, killing one amongst the rest that was like *Thrasydæus*, the Peoples Patron; and thought they had killed *Thrasidæus* indeed, so that the People, being in a great Consternation, remained quiet. The Murderers imagining they had done their Business, went with their Complices to the Market-place with their Arms. But *Thrasydæus* was fast asleep in a certain Place, where he had got drunk; and when the People perceived

Spoken
Hyperbo-
lically of
those that
expect
more than
ordinary
advantage,
*Erasm. Ad-
ag. Chil. 2.
Cent. 10.*

ceived he was not killed, they thronged about the House, where he was, and swarmed about him like Bees about their King. *Thrasylæus* heading the People, fought, and prevailed: upon which the Murderers fled to the *Lacedemonians*. After this *Agis* repassing the *Alpheus*, left a Garison of *Elean* Exiles in *Epitalium*, near the River, and constituting *Lyfippus* Governour thereof, disbanded his Army, and returned home. The remaining part of Summer, and the Winter following the *Eleans* Countrey was harassed, and destroyed by *Lyfippus*, and his Garison.

Lyfades
Archon.

The next Summer *Thrasylæus* sent to *Lacedemon*, acquainting them that he would dismantlement the City, and would quit *Cyllene*, *Phrixa*, *Epitalium*, *Letrini*, *Amphidoli* with *Margana*, and besides these *Acroriz*, and *Lasion*, which the *Arcadians* laid claim to. As for *Epeus* a Town that was situate between *Heræa*, and *Macistus*, the *Eleans* demanded that for themselves; alledging they had bought it, and the Countrey about it, of those that were then possessors of it, for thirty Talents, and had paid the Money. But the *Lacedemonians* judging it was no more their right for buying it by force, than if they had wrested it from those that

5625 l.

that were weaker than themselves, compelled them to quit this Place also. Yet they did not abridge them of the Superintendency of *Jupiter Olympius* his Temple, though anciently it belonged not to them: Concluding the Countrey-men that would become Competitors for it, were not worthy to have the inspection thereof. These Conditions being accepted, a Peace was made, as also a League Offensive, and Defensive between the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*, which put an end to the War.

After this *Agis* went to offer the * Tenth at *Delphi*, and being old, fell sick in his Return at *Heræa*, from whence he was carried whilst he was yet living to *Lacedemon*, where he soon after dyed, and had Honors above the proportion of a man, done to him at his Funeral. † Some days being passed according to Custom, the time came that they were to chuse a King.

Leotychydes, who pretended to be the Son, and *Agefilaus* the Brother of *Agis* were Competitors for the Crown. *Leotychides* saying to *Agefi-*

* The Victors offered the tenth part of their Spoil to *Apollo*, *Dionysus*. *Halic. lib. I.*

† Three days after the Death of the King the Market - place was strewed with Chaff, and nothing sold. *Herac. Pont. de Polit.*

Agefilaus and *Leotychydes* Competitors for the Kingdom of *Lacedemon*.

laus

laus that by Law the King's Son, and not the King's Brother succeeds, unless he has no Son, and then his Brother shall inherit the Kingdom: I therefore (replied *Agefilaus*) must be King. How so (said *Leotychides*) whilst I am alive? Because (says *Agefilaus*) he that you called Father, ne'r owned you for his Son, and your Mother that can tell a great deal better than he, affirms the same. Besides, *Nep-tune* convinces you of Imposture, who publicly drove your Father out of his Bed-Chamber with an Earthquake. The time also which is the surest Evidence, confirms this. For you were born the tenth Month after the God appeared, and scared your Father out of the Bed-Chamber. This was alledged.

Plutarch in
Agef.

But *Diopithes* a man skillful in Oracles, and a Favourer of *Leotychides* his Cause, declared there was an Oracle from *Apollo*, that admonished them to have a care of a lame Kingdom. *Lyfander* in defence of *Agefilaus* replied, he thought the Oracle did not bid them beware of one that should stumble, and so be lame, but rather of a Successor that was not of the blood Royal: for the Government would be altogether lame when not administered by one of *Hercules* his Posterity.

When

When the States had heard both sides, they chose *Agefilaus* King; and before he had enjoyed the Crown a Year, as he offered one of the accustomed Sacrifices in the behalf of the Commonwealth, the Priest told him that the Gods intimated a most horrid Conspiracy; when he offered the second time, the Sacrifice appeared with more direful Tokens, but the third time he offered, the Priest cried, O *Agefilaus*! the Signs seem to me as if we were in the midst of our Enemies. Then they sacrificed to the Gods, Saviours, and Averters of Evils, and having with much difficulty procured auspicious Signs, made an end.

Cinadon's
Plot.

Within five days after they had made an end of sacrificing, a certain Person discovered a Conspiracy to the *Ephori*, and that *Cinadon* was the Head of it: this *Cinadon* was a young man, of undaunted Resolution, but not one of those that were capable of Dignity.

When the *Ephori* asked the Discoverer how the Plot should be put in Execution, he told him that *Cinadon* took him to the farthest part of the Market-place, and bid him tell how many *Spartans* there were in it. I (said he) told the King, the *Ephori*, the Senators, and about

Opinion,
those that
were ca-
pable of
Prefer-
ment and
bearing
Officers,
Crag. de R.
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forty

forty more, and then said I to *Cinado*, Why did you bid me count them? He replied, These were to be accounted Enemies, and all the rest Friends. Besides (said he) amongst the *Spartans* that are in the Farms, there will be in each, one Enemy the Master, but several Friends.

Then the *Ephori* asking him, how many were privy to the Plot, he replied, that he was informed by *Cinado*, that not many credible Persons knew of it, yet those that did, were such as could be trusted, but that it was to be communicated to all, to the Slaves, Half-Slaves, and them that were not yet capable of Dignity, and to those that lived in the Neighbourhood of *Sparta*; for wherever there was mention made of the *Spartans* amongst these, there was none able to conceal his hatred against them, but that he could with pleasure eat them up alive. Again they asked him how they were to be furnished with Arms, he informed them, that *Cinado* told him, those of us that have been trained have Arms already. As for the Rabble, he took me to a Smith's Shop, and there shewing me a great many Daggers, Swords, Spits, Axes, Adzes, Reaping Hooks, said, all these might serve for Arms, and that the Instruments

Instruments of Husbandmen, as also those that carved Wood and Stone, and the Tools of the *Artisans* might be employed for Weapons, especially against naked men.

Afterwards being asked, when it was to be put in Execution, he made answer, that he was ordered to stay at home. The *Ephori* hearing this, and giving credit to his Information, were astonished: nor did they call the less Assembly, but the Senators getting together from several Parts, resolved to send *Cinado*, and some other young men to *Aulon*, pretending to give him Orders to fetch some of the *Aulonites*, and Slaves, whose Names were set down in a Letter, and to bring along with them from thence a very beautiful Woman, which was likely to raise the Affections as well of the Old, as younger sort amongst the *Lacedemonians*.

Cinado had served the *Ephori* in the like Capacity before, so they gave him a private Letter containing the Names of those that were to be taken; and asking

This is opposed to the great Assembly, called ἐκκλησιᾷ, and is supposed to consist only of the *Spartans*, Crag.

an equal bigness, one that the States, and the other that the General had; They wreathed a piece of Leather about the Stick, and wrote thwart the Wreaths, so that if it fell into the Enemies hands, yet they could not read it, because they wanted a Stick wherewith to fit it, for the Parts of the Letters would not meet exactly together, *A. Gellius. 17. Lib. 9. chap.*

There
were three
of these,
they com-
manded a
Body of
chosen
Heavy-
armed
men, *Crag.*

what men he should take along with him, the *Ephori* commanded him to go to the Eldest *Hippagreta*, and order him to send along with him six or seven young men, of any that hapned to be there, taking care that the *Hippagreta* should have notice whom to send, and that those who were sent should understand they were to seize *Cinado*, telling him they had provided three Carts, that they might not bring those they took on foot, concealing as far as it was possible, that all were to be employed about him only. They did not apprehend him in the City, for that they knew not the depth of the Plot, and designed first to learn of *Cinado* who were his Confederates, before the Conspirators understood it was discovered, that they might not fly.

They that were to apprehend him intended to detain him with them, and when they had drawn out of him the Names of the other Conspirators, they were to set them down, and send an Account thereof to the *Ephori*, with all speed imaginable. The *Ephori* took such great care, that they sent a Regiment of Horse with those that were going to *Aulon*. As soon as *Cinado* was taken, a Trooper came with the Names of those he had

had set down, and immediatly they apprehended *Tisamenus* the Priest, and the principal men amongst the Conspirators. When *Cinado* was brought back and tried, he confessed all, and discovered his Complices; so at last they askt him why he did engage himself in such a Design, he told them that he might be no worse a man, than any *Lacedemonian* of them all. At length they fastned him, and his Confederates Neck and Hands in the Stocks, whipping them through the Town, and goaring them in the Flesh; thus they were put to death.

Soon after *Herodas* a *Syracusan*, who lived with a Master of a Ship in *Phœnicia*, observing several *Phœnician* Gallies arrived at other Parts, some a fitting there, and more a building, understood there was a Fleet of 300 Sail to be set out, and going on Board the first Ship, which went for *Greece*, brought news to the *Lacedemonians*, that the King of *Persia* and *Tissaphernes* were equipping such a Fleet, though for what Design he was not able to inform them. The *Lacedemonians* were startled at this News, and assembled the Confederates to consult what measures they ought to take: *Lyfander* supposing the *Greeks* would be much stronger

at Sea, and considering how the Army that marcht with *Cyrus* came off, perswaded *Agefilaus* to engage, that in case they should raise him an Army of thirty *Spartans*, two thousand Half-Slaves, and fix thousand of the Confederates, to undertake an Expedition into *Asia*. Besides, he intended to accompany *Agefilaus* himself, that they both might restore the *Decemvirates*, which he had established in the Cities, and the *Ephori* suppress; and to reinstate them in their Liberty. *Agefilaus* offered his Service, and the *Lacedemonians* granted his Demands, with fix Months Provisions.

So having offered the necessary Sacrifices, and particularly for a successful Voyage, he departed, and dispatched Messengers to all the Confederate Towns, requiring them to send their respective Quota's of men, and repair to the Rendezvous; intending himself to sacrifice at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* when he set Sail for *Troy*, had sacrificed. But the States of *Bœotia* having Intelligence of his Design, sent a Party of Horse and forbid him to sacrifice any more, throwing the Sacrifices they light on, off the Altar. *Agefilaus* called the Gods to witness, and going on Board his Gally in

There
were XI
of them,
Tbneyd.
Lib. 4.

a heat set Sail, arriving at *Geraestus*, where he got together what Forces he possibly could, and went with his Fleet to *Ephesus*. When he came thither, *Tissaphernes* sent first to know of him, what Business he had there. *Agefilaus*, answered him, That his Business was to set the *Asiatick* Towns at Liberty, as we (says he) have done already to those with us in *Greece*.

Tissaphernes made answer, If you (*Agefilaus*) will grant a Cessation of Arms, till I can send to the King of *Persia*, I believe you may effect your Business, and so return home again. I would agree to't (replied *Agefilaus*) but that I think you'll impose upon me. You may assure yourself (said *Tissaphernes*) that if you perform your part, we shall make no attempt upon your Countrey during the Cessation. When they had agreed upon these Conditions, *Tissaphernes* swore to *Herippidas*, *Dercyllidas*, *Megialius* that were deputed to him, that he would make a Peace without any Fraud, and they again swore to *Tissaphernes* for *Agefilaus*, that if the latter performed his part, the Peace should remain firm on their side. But *Tissaphernes* soon violated his Oath, for instead of making Peace, he sent to the King of *Persia* for more Forces; yet *Agefilaus* though

he understood his Design, kept the Truce.

Whilst *Agefilaus* lay still at *Ephesus*, the Governments of the Towns being in Confusion, because there neither were Democracies, as under the *Athenians*, nor Decemvirates, as in *Lysander's* time: All the Cities address themselves to *Lysander* being one they knew, and intreated him to negotiate their Business with *Agefilaus*; which drew a great Attendance always after him, so that *Agefilaus* appeared like a private man, and *Lysander* like a King; which *Agefilaus* declared afterwards made him uneasy. The rest of the XXX. Commissioners moved with Envy, forbore not to tell *Agefilaus*, that *Lysander* violated the Laws, and lookt bigger than a King; so that when *Lysander* introduced any to *Agefilaus*, all whom he understood to be in favour with him, he dismissed without their Business done.

When *Lysander* saw all things went contrary to his desires, and perceived how matters were, he would not suffer the People to run after him for the future, telling those plainly that begged his Assistance, that if he should appear in their cause, it would fare the worse. He repented his disgrace very ill, and going to the King, said to him, *Agefilaus*! Is it one of
your

your Arts to lessen your Friends? Yes, said he, if they be such as would appear greater than my self, and I should be ashamed on the other hand, if I understood not how to honour them, that augment my Glory. *Lysander* replied, Perhaps (your Majesty) is in the right, and has discharged your part better than I; Yet my request is, that I mayn't be disgraced by the loss of my Interest with you, and being I am so unpleasing an Object in your sight, that you would send me some whither, where I may be serviceable to you.

Upon this *Agefilaus* was pleased to hearken to him, and sent him to the *Hellefpont*, where finding that *Spithridates* a *Persian*, was in disgrace with *Pharnabazus*; he discoursed, and perswaded him with his Children, and the Estate he had, together with two hundred Horse, to come over to the *Lacedemonians*. So leaving the rest behind at *Cyzicus*, he brought *Spithridates* and his Son to *Agefilaus*; who when he understood it, was well pleased therewith, and presently inquired of him about *Pharnabazus* his Province and Government.

After that *Tissaphernes* elated with the Opinion of the Army, that was coming
down

down to him from the King, threatned *Agefilaus* to declare War against him, unless he withdrew his Forces out of *Asia*. The *Lacedemonians*, and Confederates, who were there present, appeared very much concerned at it, imagining the Forces *Agefilaus* had then with him, were much inferiour to the preparations of the King of *Persia*; but *Agefilaus* with a pleasant Countenance, bid the Ambassadors tell *Tissaphernes*, that he was very much obliged to him, because by his Perjury he had made the Gods Enemies to himself, and Friends to the *Greeks*. Immediately he commanded his men to prepare for an Expedition, ordering the Towns, that he was obliged to pass through in his march to *Caria*, to lay in Provisions, and sent Orders to the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and those who lived upon the *Hellespont* to send their Forces to the Rendezvous at *Ephesus*. *Tissaphernes* partly because *Agefilaus* wanted Cavalry, and partly because *Caria* was impassable for Horse, supposing also he was provoked by his Fraud, concluded for certain he would fall into *Caria*, the Place of his Residence. Whereupon he drew all his Foot thither, and marcht about with his Horse into the Plains of *Maander*, imagining

ning he could trample the *Greeks* under foot with his Cavalry, before they reached those Countries, that were impassable for Horse. But *Agefilaus* instead of going into *Caria*, turned a clear contrary way, marching into *Phrygia*, and falling unexpectedly upon them took the Towns which were in his way, together with a very great Spoyl.

All this while his march was without any opposition, but when he came near *Dascylium*, the Vant-Curriers ascended up an Hill to see if they could discover any thing before them; when by chance a like number of *Pharnabazus* his Horse, sent by him under the Command of *Rathines* and *Bancæus* his Bastard Brother marcht up the same Hill; and discovering one another at four hundred foot distance from each other; at first they halted. The *Greeks* were drawn up four deep like a *Phalanx*, the *Barbarians* not above twelve in Front, though a great many deep. These gave the Onset, and when they came to handy-blows, as many of them as hit the Enemy, broke their Lances, but the *Persians* having theirs made of *Cornel Tree*, killed instantly twelve men, and two Horses. So the *Greeks* were routed, though when *Agefilaus* came to relieve

Plethrum is the sixth part of a Furlong, *Herod.* or an hundred foot, *Suid.*

relieve them with his Heavy-armed men, the *Barbarians* lost one man, and retreated. The next day after the Fight between the Horse, *Agésilas* sacrificed to see whether he might advance farther up into their Countrey, but the Liver wanted Lobes, upon sight of which he turned back, and marched down to the Sea-coast; and finding he could not maintain his Ground in the Champion Countrey, without he had a sufficient Body of Horse, he resolved to make such Provision, that he might not be obliged to be always upon the defensive side. Therefore he ordered that the wealthiest men in all the adjacent Cities should keep Horses, and declared whoever furnisht out Horse and Arms with an approved man, should be excused from serving himself, which was effected with that Expedition, as if one willingly went to search out another to be knockt on the head for him.

In the beginning of Spring, he assembled all his Forces at *Ephesus*, intending to exercise them, and proposed Rewards to those Ranks of the Heavy-armed men that had the ablest Bodies, and to the Cavalry that rode the great Horse best, proposing also Rewards to those Targeters, and Archers that performed their

Duty

The Liver is dump together, and all of a mass in diseased Cattle, which was an ill Omen in sacrificing.

96 Olymp.
Phormio
Archon.

Duty exceeding well. Upon this, one might see all the Schools full of men exercising, the Tilt-yards of Horse-men running, the Darters and Archers training, which made *Ephesus*, where those things were done, a Place worth the seeing: the Market was full of Horses and Arms exposed to sale; the Brasiers, Carpenters, Smiths, Shomakers, and Painters, were all employed about making of Arms, so that the City seemed to be the Shop of War. This added courage to every one, when they saw *Agésilas*, and the Soldiers return from the Schools with their Garlands, and dedicate them to *Minerva*. For why may not there be entertained great Hopes of good Success, were men are Religious, Martial, and Loyal?

Agésilas thinking the Contempt of an Enemy would beget a resolution to fight, commanded the Cryers to bring out those *Barbarians* naked to sale, that were taken by the Foragers; the Soldiers seeing them have white skins, because they seldom exposed their Bodies naked, being effeminate, and tender, and always coacht about; thought a War with such People would be no more than if they were to fight with a Company of Women. At this time, a year being almost elapsed since

Agésilas

Agefilaus first began his expedition : The XXX. Commissioners, whereof *Lysander* was one, failed home again, and *Herippidas* with the rest of the Successors arrived. *Agefilaus* appointed *Xenocles*, and another of their Body to be Generals of Horse, giving *Scythes* the Command of the Heavy-armed Half-Slaves; *Herippidas* he made General of those Soldiers that served under *Cyrus*, and *Mygdo* of the Troops furnished out by the Cities; declaring to them that he would march directly, and take his shortest cut into the heart of the Enemies Country: That therefore they should prepare their Bodies, and resolve to fight.

Tissaphernes thinking he spread this report, designing to deceive him again, and that now he would in good earnest fall into *Caria*, passed with his Foot thither, as he had done before, and posted his Horse in the Plains of *Meander*. *Agefilaus* did not deceive him, and according as he had given out, he fell into the Neighbourhood of *Sardes*, and marching three day through the deserted Country of the Enemies, got store of Provisions for his Army. The fourth day the Enemies Horse appearing, *Agefilaus* commanded the Camp-Master General to pass the *Patolus*,

Patolus, and mark out a Camp. Then the *Persians* observing some of the *Greeks* that followed the Camp to straggle for pillage, killed several of them. Which *Agefilaus* perceiving, commanded the Horse to go, and relieve them, but the *Persians* seeing Succours come, drew up in a close Body, and faced them with all their Troops. *Agefilaus* understanding that the Enemies Foot were not yet come up, thought it was a fit opportunity to fight if he could; thereupon he sacrificed, and forthwith leading his *Phalanx* against the Enemies Horse that confronted him, he commanded out all those that were ten years past man's Estate, to charge with full speed, the Targetiers to follow on running, after which he commanded the Horse to fall on, making as if he would second them with the whole Army. The *Persians* received the Horse, but afterwards a terrible face of things appearing, they gave Ground, and immediately some of them fell into the River, others fled, and the *Greeks* pressing them hard, took their Camp, the Targetiers, as it is usual, falling to the Spoil. *Agefilaus* encompassed as well those things that belonged to Friends, as Enemies, with his Army, and took abundance of Riches which

13125 l. which amounted to above seventy Talents, besides some Camels which he afterwards sent into Greece.

At the time of this fight *Tissaphernes* hapned to be at *Sardes* which occasioned the *Persians* to say, that they were betrayed by him; and the King supposing *Tissaphernes* was the cause of these mis-carriages, sent *Tithraustes* to take off his Head, which he executed, and dispatcht Ambassadors to *Agefilaus* with these Instructions. *Agefilaus* the Authour of all your Troubles, and ours too, is brought to Justice, the King of *Persia* requires you to march home with your Army, and the *Asiatick* Cities shall be restored to their Liberty, they paying him the accustomed Tribute. *Agefilaus* made answer, That he could act nothing without Orders from the Magistrates at home. Then said *Tithraustes*, seeing I have taken off your Enemy, do you retreat into *Pharnabazus* his Government, till you hear farther from home. *Agefilaus* replied, give me then Provisions for my Army, till I arrive thither: So *Tithraustes* gave him thirty Talents, which he took, and marcht with his Army into *Phrygia*, the Government of *Pharnabazus*; and being in the Plain beyond *Cyma* there came to him a Messenger

5625 l.

Messenger from the Magistrates at home, with a Commission to be *Generalissimo* both at Sea and Land, as also to nominate whom he would for Admiral, which the *Lacedemonians* did for this reason, because if one commanded all, the Forces would be united, whereby both the Land Army, and the Fleet would be strengthened by their mutual Assistance wherever there was occasion.

As soon as *Agefilaus* received this Commission, he in the first place ordered the Islands, and Maritime Towns to Equip as many Gallies as they thought fit. There were an hundred and twenty sail of Ships new built, part of which the Towns had promised, and the rest some private Persons out of respect to him had furnished. He appointed Admiral *Pisander* his Wive's Brother, an ambitious, and daring man, yet unfit to discharge so weighty an Employment; who parting from the Camp, went to take care of the Naval Affairs; and *Agefilaus* accordingly as he had designed passed into *Phrygia*. *Tithraustes* seeming to apprehend that *Agefilaus* contemned the Forces of the King of *Persia*, and had no thoughts in the least of drawing his Troops out of *Asia*, but rather entertained great hopes of

N

ruining

9375 L.

ruining the King, and not knowing what measures to take sent *Timocrates* the *Rhodian* into *Greece*, giving him as much Gold as amounted to about fifty Talents of Silver, instructing him to use his endeavours, and taking good security to distribute it amongst the leading men of the Cities, on Condition that they would make War upon the *Lacedemonians*. He went into *Greece*, and at *Thebes* gave some of the Money to *Androclides*, *Ismenias*, and *Galaxidorus*; at *Corinth* to *Timolaus* and *Polyanthes*; at *Argos* to *Cyclo* and his Party; the *Athenians* though they had no share of the Gold, yet were eager for War, thinking the Command in Chief belonged to them. They that received the Money, talkt against the *Lacedemonians* in their respective Cities, and rendring them odious to the People, stirred up the most considerable Commonwealths to confederate against them.

War between the
Lacedemonians and
Thebans.

But the Chief of the *Thebans* knowing the *Lacedemonians* would not break the League made with the Allies, unless some others were the Aggressors; perswaded the *Locri Opuntii* to pay Tribute out of a Country that was in dispute betwixt the *Thebans*, and *Phocæans*; imagining if such a thing were done, the *Phocæans* would

would fall into *Locris*. Nor were they mistaken, for the *Phocæans* made an inroad into *Locris*, and took a great Spoil; thereupon *Androclides*, and his Party prevailed with the *Thebans* to assist the *Locrians*, as though the Enemy had not invaded a Country which was in Controversie, but confessed on all Hands to be in Amity with them. On the other hand the *Thebans* fell into *Phocis*, and destroyed it; upon which the *Phocæans* sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, desiring Assistance from them, making it appear that they did not begin the War, but only revenged their Injuries. The *Lacedemonians* willingly embraced this opportunity of employing their Arms against the *Thebans*, provoked by them before, for siezing *Apollo's* Tents at *Decelea*; and for not seconding the *Lacedemonians* in their attempt upon the *Piræus*, complaining of them also for dissuading the *Corinthians* from joyning with them; calling also to mind their denying *Agefilas* to sacrifice at *Aulis*, and their throwing his Sacrifice off the Altar: And for that they did not assist *Agefilas* in his Expedition into *Asia*. Thereupon they thought they had a fair opportunity to undertake a War against them, and repress their insolency.

lency. For their Affairs succeeded well in *Asia*, *Agefilaus* having carried all before him; nor was there any War in *Greece*, that could give them a diversion on that side.

This being the fence of the *Lacedemonian* Republick, the *Ephori* ordered a Levy to be made, and sent *Lysander* to the *Phocæans* with Orders to bring their Forces, as also for the rest to assemble at *Ha-liartus*; where *Pausanias* who was to Command in Chief, had appointed the Troops of the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to Rendevous at a set day. *Lysander* not only observed his Orders, but brought over the *Orchomenians* also from the *Thebans*. *Pausanias*, after he had obtained a successful Sacrifice for his Voyage, remained at *Tegea*, and sent the Officers of the *Mercenaries* before, being in expectation of the Troops from the Adjacent Places. When the *Thebans* received Intelligence that the *Lacedemonians* were entred their Countrey, they sent Ambassadors to *Athens* with this Message: *Ye complained of us (My Lords of Athens) for passing a severe Sentence against you towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, but this your Complaint was groundless. For it was not the Decree of*

Oeteans, Heracleans, Melians, and Aeginetians

The Oration of the Theban Ambassador at Athens.

OUR

our Government; but one Particular man, who hapned to be in the Assembly of the Confederates, that made mention of it. When the *Lacedemonians* invited us to joyn with them in the attempt against the *Pireus*, the whole Community ordered, that no assistance should be given them. And since we have highly provoked the *Lacedemonians* hereby, we think it reasonable that you should succour our City, especially as many of you as were then in *Athens* ought in Equity to serve against them; for they changed your Government into an Oligarchy, and when they came with considerable Forces under a pretence to assist, they brought an Odium upon you, and then delivered you up to the People: So that you had been ruined for all them, had not the Populacy saved you. We are all sensible that you would resume your former Sovereignty, and what way can this in probability better be effected, than by assisting them whom they have oppressed? Be'n't concerned at the Multitudes of their People, but rather be the more couragious, considering that when you your selves had a larger Dominion, your Enemies were the most numerous; who concealed their Hatred as long as they wanted an opportunity to revolt. But when the *Lacedemonians*

got the upper hand, they declared their Sentiments concerning you; and now if both of us bend our Forces against them, you may be assured that several other States will discover themselves. And you will find my Words to be true, if you please to consider well on't. For who is there left that favors them? not the Argives, for they have always been their Adversaries. The Eleans also whom they have lately deprived of several Cities, and a large Territory, are become their Enemies. What shall I say of the Corinthians, the Arcadians, and Achæans, who though they were courted into the War against you by the Lacedemonians, yet bore their share in the Toiles, Dangers, and Expences of it. And when they had accomplisht their Designs, what Power, what Honors, or what Riches did they impart to them? Nay they thought their Slaves, though there were Freemen enough amongst the Allies, fit Persons to be preferred to Governments, and when they became successful they declared themselves Lords of their Confederates. Those they brought off from your side they have plainly cullied, and have returned them, instead of Liberty, a double Servitude. For the Governours, and the Decemvirates Lyfander constituted, exercise

cise in every Place a Tyranny. The King of Persia, who contributed so much to their Conquest of us fares no better, than if he had assisted us against them. If you therefore will head those that have been manifestly oppressed, you will in probability become more powerful than ever: When ye commanded, ye were only Generals at Sea, but now ye are Leaders of us, and the Peloponesians, with those you had formerly, as also the King himself that has so mighty a Power. You your selves are sensible that we did the Lacedemonians good Service, and we in probability shall now follow you more vigorously, than we did them formerly. For we come not to serve the Islanders, Syracusians, or others, as we did before, but to revenge our own Injuries. Neither are you ignorant, that this their exorbitant Power can be with less difficulty ruined, than that Dominion of yours. You with your Fleet forced Obedience from your Subjects, but they though few, domineer over those that are Superiour to them in number, and as well appointed as themselves. This (My Lords of Athens) we have to add, that you are sensible we invite you to Advantages of greater Concern to your Country, than to our own.

When the Oration was ended, several

of the *Athenians* approved of it, and 'twas resolved by all, that the *Thebans* should be succoured. *Thrasylbulus* therefore put it to the Vote, and declared, That though the *Piræus* was unwall'd, yet they would at their own peril, make them a return greater than the kindness they had received. We therefore (said he) will assist you against them in case they attack you, because ye did not joyn with them against us. The *Thebans* returned home, and prepared to put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and the *Athenians* made preparations to succor them. Nor were the *Lacedemonians* behind-hand with them; for *Pausanias* their King came down upon *Bœotia* with an Army of *Lacedemonians*, and *Peloponnesians*, but the *Corinthians* did not joyn them. *Lyfander* having the Command of the Forces from *Phocis*, *Orchomenus*, and the Adjacent Places, arrived at *Haliartus* before *Pausanias*; where as soon as he came, he lay not still in expectation of the Army from *Lacedemon*, but advanced with those Troops he had to the Walls of *Haliartus*; perswading them first to relinquish the Interest of the *Thebans*, and to resume their Liberty. But the *Thebans* that were in the Garison opposed

posed his Designs: whereupon he attacked the Town, which the other *Thebans*, came full speed with their Horse, and Heavy-armed men to relieve. But whether they surprized *Lyfander*, or whether he had Intelligence of their march, and expected them in hopes of a Victory is uncertain; though this is certain, that the fight was under the Walls of *Haliartus*, and he erected a Trophy before the Gates thereof. Afterwards *Lyfander* being killed, some of his men ^{Lyfander slain.} fled to an Hill, whom the *Thebans* eagerly pursued, and ascended up to the top of it, where being drawn into a narrow, and difficult pass, the Heavy-armed men faced about; when two or three of the foremost fell, the *Lacedemonians* rouled Stones down the Precipice upon the rest, pressing them with so great courage that the *Thebans* were beat from the Ascent, and above two hundred of them slain.

This Day the *Thebans* were dejected supposing their own loss to be as great as that the Enemy had received. But the day after finding that the *Phocæans*, and the rest of the Confederates had retreated homewards in the Night, they valued themselves the more upon this Action. Yet when *Pausanias* appeared with his Army

Army from *Lacedemon*, they thought themselves in great danger again, and the report went that there was a profound Silence and Consternation in their Camp. Next day when the *Athenians* came, and joyned them, *Pausanias* could neither move with his Troops, nor fight; at which the *Thebans* were the more animated. Then *Pausanias* calling his Colonels, and Captains together, consulted whether he should fight, or make truce to fetch off *Lysander*, with the others that were killed. At length *Pausanias* and the Commanders considering that *Lysander* was slain, his Army beaten and routed; that the *Corinthians* had not joyned them; and that the Allies did them no Service: besides that the Enemy was strong in Horse, and they but weak, the Bodies lay under the Walls, so that if they had been stronger, yet by reason of those from the Turrets, it would be no easie matter to bring off the slain; they thought it best upon all these Reasons, to make a Truce, and fetch them off. But the *Thebans* refused to deliver them on any Condition whatsoever, except it were, that the *Lacedemonians* should march out of their Countrey, who gladly accepted it, and taking their dead retired out of

Bæotia.

Bæotia. After this Action, the *Lacedemonians* went away much dejected, but the *Thebans* insulting fell upon those that stragled in the Villages, and pursued them to the Roads.

Thus ended the Expedition of the *Lacedemonians*; and *Pausanias* when he came home, was tried for his Life; being accused for coming later to *Lysander* at *Haliartus*, than he ought to have done, having agreed to meet him by a certain day; and for that he had made Truce to fetch off the killed, and had not attempted it by fighting; as also for that he dismissed the *Athenians* taken in the *Piræus*: besides all this he did not make his Appearance, and therefore was condemned to lose his Life. But he made his Escape to *Tegea*, where he sickned, and died of a Distemper. And this was the State of Affairs in *Greece* at that time.

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XENOPHON'S History
OF THE
Affairs of Greece.

LIB. IV.

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The Marriage Treaty between Cotys King of Paphlagonia, and Spithridates's Daughter. The Thebans are vanquisht by the Lacedemonians. The Athenians beat the Lacedemonians in a Sea-fight at Cnidus. The Battel at Chæronea. The Massacre at Corinth. Corinth surprized by the Argives, and recovered by Praxitas. The Walls of Athens rebuilt by Conon. Antalcidas is sent to Teribazus the Persian to negotiate

gotiate a Peace. The Lacedemonians defeated by Iphicrates, and Anaxibius their General slain.

Afterwards early in the Autumn *Agefilaus* entring *Phrygia*, the Government of *Pharnabazus*, burned, and destroyed the Countrey, taking in some Cities by Force, and others by Surrender. But *Spithridates* telling him, That, if he would go with him into *Paphlagonia*, he would bring him to an interview with the King thereof, and make him an Ally: *Agefilaus* was very forward to go, having a great desire a long time before to bring over this Nation from the Obedience of the King of *Persia*. After *Agefilaus* arrived in *Paphlagonia*, *Cotys* came to him, and made an Alliance; for though he was sent for by the King of *Persia*, he went not to him, but by the perswasion of *Spithridates* left a thousand Horse, and two thousand Targetiers with *Agefilaus*; who returning his thanks to *Spithridates* for them, said, Tell me, *Spithridates*, won't you bestow your Daughter on *Cotys*? That I would, replied he, more willingly a great deal than *Cotys* King of so large a Countrey, and so mighty a People, would marry

marry a poor Exiles Daughter.

Thus much only was mentioned at that time about a Match; but afterwards *Cotys* being upon his departure came to take his leave of *Agefilaus*; who ordering *Spithridates* to withdraw, said to *Cotys* in the presence of the XXX Commissioners; Pray tell me, *Cotys*, of what kind of Family is *Spithridates* descended? Of one, replied he, that is no ways inferiour to any in *Persia*. Have you seen, said *Agefilaus*, what an handsome Son he has? What then, says *Cotys*? Yes, I have, for last Night I supped with him. They say, replies *Agefilaus*, that he has a Daughter more beautiful than he. Before God, says *Cotys*, she is a Beauty. Then, replied *Agefilaus*, Since you are become one of our Friends, by my consent you shall marry her: for first she is extraordinary handsome, the most welcome Quality in a Wife, and then descended of a most Illustrious Father, and one of so considerable Power, that being affronted by *Pharnabazus*, he has revenged himself, in the manner you see, and chased him out of his Province. You may be assured therefore, said he, that as he is able to revenge himself on an Enemy, so he can oblige a Friend; and consider with your self that if such a thing should be,

be, you will not only contract an Affinity with him, but with me also, and the rest of the Lacedemonians, and we, as you well know, are the leading People of all Greece. What Nuptial Solemnity therefore can be more Pompous than yours? What Bride was ever attended by so many Horse, Targetiers, and Heavy-armed men, as shall conduct yours to your Court? Then Cotys asking him, said, Agesilaus! Does Spithridates approve of what you say? By Heaven, replied he, Cotys! I speak not by his Order, for though the pleasure of revenging my self on an Enemy be very sweet, yet I am much more pleased when I can find out any thing that can be serviceable to a Friend. Then, said Cotys, why don't you ask his Consent? Go you therefore Herippidas, and the rest, says Agesilaus, and inform him of these Proposals, and use all the best Arguments you can to perswade him; so they went and acquainted him: And whilst they staid, Agesilaus said, Shall we, Cotys! send for Spithridates hither, for I believe he will be sooner prevailed upon by you, than by all together?

Soon after Agesilaus sent for Spithridates, and the rest, and when they drew near, Herippidas said, Agesilaus! Not to trouble you with the whole Relation of the

Matter

Matter, Spithridates, says he, will submit wholly to your pleasure. Then 'tis my pleasure, says Agesilaus, that you Spithridates bestow your Daughter on Cotys, and that you Cotys accept her, and I wish you much joy. Yet we cannot send you her by Land before the Spring. Faith, saith Cotys, but you may presently have her conveyed if you please by Sea. In Conclusion, the Marriage-Treaty being ratified, Cotys was dismissed. Immediately Agesilaus knowing him to be in haste, fitted out a Gally, giving Orders to Callias the Lacedemonian to convey the Lady; and went himself to Dascylium the Court of Pharnabazus, which had a great many, and large Villages about it, furnished with all necessaries for life, as also Wild Beasts, some in Parks, and others in Forrests, exceeding delightful, being encompassed by a River stored with all sorts of Fish, and abundance of Fowls for those that loved the Game.

There he took up his Winter Quarters, and partly in that Place, and partly by Depredations in the Countrey got Provisions for his Army; but as the Soldiers never having been foyled before, contemned the Enemy, and were not upon their Guard when they foraged, Pharnabazus with two Scythed Chariots, and

four hundred Horse, met them stragling in the Plains. As soon as the *Greeks* discovered him advancing towards them, about seven hundred of them drew up in a Body. *Pharnabazus* without any more ado placed the Chariots in the Front, and following himself with the Horse in the Rear, commanded them to drive upon the Enemy. The Chariots falling in, and breaking their Body, the Horse forthwith killed and took Prisoners an hundred men; and the rest fled to *Agefilaus*, who was not far off with the Heavy-armed men. Three or four days after *Spithridates* discovered *Pharnabazus's* Camp at *Caue*, a large Village about an hundred and sixty Furlongs from thence, and immediately informed *Herippidas* of it; who ever longing to perform some brave Exploit, desired of *Agefilaus* two thousand Heavy-armed men, as many Targeters, *Spithridates's* Horse, the *Paphlagonians*, and what *Greek* Horse he could prevail with besides. When he had obtained a Promise of them, he sacrificed, and having been successful therein, in the Evening he left off, and commanded the Soldiers when they had supped, to make their appearance before the Camp. It began to grow dark, and not half the number

of

of each Party came out; yet that he might not be laughed at by his Fellow Commissioners if he desisted, he went with the Forces he had, and attacking *Pharnabazus's* Camp by break of day, he killed a great many of the Out-guards that were *Myfians*, and put the rest to flight, taking the Camp, and in it abundance of Cups, together with *Pharnabazus's* Furniture, as also a great deal of Baggage, and several Draught-Horses.

Pharnabazus fearing if he staid in any one Place, he should be Empounded and besieged, wandered up and down the Countrey like the *Nomades*, carefully concealing his Encampments. Whilst *Spithridates* and the *Paphlagonians* were carrying off their Spoyl, *Herippidas* privately set on the Commanders of the Heavy-armed men, and Captains to deprive *Spithridates*, and the *Paphlagonians* of their share, that so he might have the more Captives for the Slave-Merchants. This Injury they resented, and like men affronted, and disgraced, departed in the Night with Bag and Baggage to *Ariæus* at *Sardes*: confiding in him, for that he as well as they had revolted from the King, and made War against him. Nothing in this Expedition affected *Agefilaus*

People of
Scythia,
who have
no certain
Habitation.

more than that *Spithridates*, *Megabyzus* and the *Paphlagonians* quitted the Service.

There was one *Apollophanes* a *Cyziceni- an*, who had been formerly a Guest to *Pharnabazus*, and being at that time entertained by *Agefilaus*, informed him that he thought he could bring *Pharnabazus*, and him to an Interview in order to treat of Peace. *Agefilaus* hearing this, gave *Apollophanes* safe conduct; and he brought *Pharnabazus* to the Place appointed; where *Agefilaus* and the XXX Commissioners were sat down in the Grass expecting *Pharnabazus*; who came thither in very rich Attire. And when the Servants were spreading Carpets for him, on which the effeminate *Persians* seat themselves: he seeing the mean Accommodation *Agefilaus* had, was ashamed to indulge himself, and sat down on the Ground just as he was. As soon as they had saluted one another, *Pharnabazus* first reached out his right hand, and afterwards *Agefilaus* did the same to him: When this was done, *Pharnabazus* as being the Elder, began to speak. *Agefilaus*, and ye Gentlemen of Lacedemon that are present! I was your Friend and Ally, whilst you made War against the Athenians, for I reinforced your Navy with Supplies of Money; on the Shore I fought on Horseback,

Pharnabazus's
Speech.

Horseback, and pursued the Enemy into the Sea. Neither could you ever charge me as you did *Tissaphernes*, with under-hand dealing either in Word or Deed; and though I have carried my self thus to you, yet you have treated me in such a manner, as not to leave me a Meals-meat in my own Province, unless like a Dog, I should eat of your Scraps. Those fair Buildings, and Parks planted with Trees, and stored with Dear, which my Father left me, and were my Divertisement, are now all either burnt or destroyed by you. If I therefore know not what is Justice, and Equity, do you inform me, whether this be the way by which men who have a due sence of Honour express their Gratitude. The XXX Commissioners being very much ashamed at this Speech, remained silent, and after some pause, *Agefilaus* began. I suppose *Agefilaus's* (Pharnabazus) you know that in the Gre- Speech.
cian Republicks, men contract Alliances of Hospitality one with another, and that when their respective Countries Quarrel, they declare themselves Enemies, as well against the Persons they entertain, as their Countries, and sometimes happen to kill them too. Now we are necessitated, being we are at War with your King, to look upon every thing of his, as belonging to an
O 3 Enemy;

Enemy; though we desire nothing more than to renew our Friendship with you. And indeed if your coming over to us would only make you change your Masters, and take on you our Foe instead of the King of Persia's; I should not have given you this advice; but now by the Alliance with us you shall not be obliged to prostrate your self before any, nor acknowledge a Superior, but live, and enjoy your own. For Liberty in my opinion is of equal value to all the Riches in the World; nor do I advise you, to purchase your freedom by the loss of your Greatness, but by the advantage of our Alliance, to enlarge (not the Kings) but your own Dominions, by subduing others in your own condition, and making them your own Subjects: Thus if you become both free and wealthy, what will you then want to compleat your Happiness. Pharnabazus replied, I will tell you plainly what I'll do; So you ought, said Agesilaus; If then, says he, the King sends another Governour, and commands me to obey him, I'll make an Alliance with you; but if he gives me the Supreme Command (for this is something which seems to be worthy ones Ambition) assure your selves I'll make a vigorous War upon you. Agesilaus hearing

ing this, took him by the hand, and said to him: I wish (Gallant Prince) since you are a Person of so great Generosity, that we might enjoy your Friendship; yet be satisfied in this one thing, that I will draw my Army out of your Province with all Expedition, and hereafter if the War continue, as long as there is any else to fall upon, we will forbear you and yours.

The Conference ending, Pharnabazus mounted, and rode away, but his Son by his Wife Parapita, an handsome Youth, staying behind a while, ran to Agesilaus, and said to him, *I contract an Alliance of Hospitality with you: I accept it,* replies Agesilaus: *Remember it then,* said the Young man, and forthwith gave Agesilaus a neat Dart that he had. Agesilaus accepted it, and pulling the curious Trappings off of Idæus the Painter's Horse presented the Youth with them; who after that nimbly mounted his Steed, and followed his Father. But when his Brother in Pharnabazus's absence had seized the Province, and banished him, Agesilaus took not only particular care of him; but procured also for the Youth's sake, that the Son of Evalces the Athenian, whom he had a love for, though he

* There were three sorts of Champions, the Boys, Youths, and men, who were to be approved by the Judges called *Helenodicae*, before they could be admitted to exercise, and by favour of the Son of *Eualces* passed for a Boy, though a size bigger, *Pet. Fab. Agon. Lib. III. C. 9.*

were the * biggest of the Youths, might be admitted into the Foot-race at the *Olympick* Games. He also according to his Promise retired out of *Pharnabazus's* Province; and the Spring just now approaching he arrived in the Plains of *Thebes*, and encamped by the Temple of *Diana Asturina*: where beside the Forces he had with him, he got together a very powerful Army from all Parts, and prepared to march up into the Countrey as far as it was possible, supposing that he should dispossess the King of *Iersu* of all the Provinces he left behind him.

Diophantus Archon.

As *Agefilaus* designed thus with himself, the *Lacedemonians* discovering that for certain Money had been sent into *Greece*, and that the most considerable Cities had confederated to make War upon them, and apprehending their Republick was in danger, and that they were obliged to provide for a New War: they accordingly did, and sent *Epicydidus* to *Agefilaus*, who after he arrived, related how Affairs stood, and that the State had sent Orders for him to come to the assistance of his Countrey. *Agefilaus* hearing this was extraordinarily

extraordinarily concerned, considering what Honours, and Hopes he should thereby be deprived of. However he called the Confederates together, and communicated to them the State's Orders, declaring that he was necessitated to go to the assistance of his Countrey. If things succeed well with us, assure yourselves, said he, that I will not forget you, but return, and do whatever you shall require. When they heard this, they shed abundance of Tears, and resolved with an Universal Consent to accompany *Agefilaus*, and succour *Lacedemon*; and if they met with Success to bring him back again into *Asia*. Whilst they were preparing for the Expedition, *Agefilaus* left *Euxenus* General with an Army of 400 men to preserve the Towns they were possessed of, and intended to carry with him a considerable Body of the stoutest men, finding that several of the Soldiers were more inclined to stay there, than to go and fight against the *Greeks*. He proposed Prizes to those Cities that furnished the best Soldiers; and to those Captains of the *Mercenaries*, who came into the Service with a Company of the best appointed either of Heavy-armed men, Archers, or Targetiers. To the Captains

Captains of Horse he declared that who-soever brought a Troop the best horsed, and armed, should have also a Reward; telling them he would determine this matter in the *Chersonese*, after he was passed out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and that they should be sure to chuse select men for this Expedition. The Prizes were generally Arms for the Heavy-armed men, and Horse, neatly made; and some Crowns of Gold; so that all of them amounted to no less than the value of four Talents; and though he had been at such Expences, yet he provided Arms for his Soldiers.

750 l.

Afterwards when he had passed the *Hellepont*, there were chosen Umpires, of the *Lacedemonians*, *Menascus*, *Herippidas*, and *Orsippus*; of the Confederates one out of every City. As soon as this Arbitration was over, *Agésilæus* marched with his Army the same Way that *Xerxes* did, when he invaded *Greece*. About this time the *Ephori* raised Forces; and the States, because *Agésilæus* was a Minor, gave the Command of the Army to *Aristodemus* the Protector, and one of the Royal Family. After the *Lacedemonians* had taken the Field, the Enemy assembled together, and consulted how they

they might manage the War to the best advantage. Then said *Timolæus* the *Corinthian*: Gentlemen, Methinks the Affairs of the *Lacedemonians* are like Rivers, which being not large near their Springs, may be easily forded over, but while they continue their course farther, the accession of other Waters makes their Stream more rapid. Just so are the *Lacedemonians*, for at the Place they set forth they are only themselves; but in their Progress, they having joyned other Cities, become more numerous, and are hardly to be grappled with. I find too, says he, that those who would destroy Wasps, if they hunt them after they get out of their holes, are stung by Swarms of them; but if they set fire to them in their Nests, then they destroy them, and suffer no harm at all themselves. Therefore upon these considerations, I think it best to give them battel at *Lacedemon*, or if that cannot be, yet as near to the Place as is possible. This Proposal seeming reasonable, they made a Decree accordingly; and whilst they debated about the Command in Chief, they agreed how many they should draw up in Front, lest they should make their Battalions too deep; and thereby let the Enemy encompass them. The *Lacedemonians*

Timolæus
his
Speech.

monians together with the *Tegeans*, and *Mantineans* marched out by the Sea side, and arrived about the same time at *Sicyon*, that the *Corinthians* and their Confederates did at *Nemea*. Hereupon the latter made an Impression upon the *Lacedemonians* near *Epiecæa*; and at first the Enemies Light-armed men darting, and throwing from an Eminence, did great Execution upon them; but the *Lacedemonians* marching down by the Sea side, and taking the way through the Plain, destroyed, and burnt the Countrey. The Enemy went out and encamped by a Brook that ran before their Camp; & the *Lacedemonians* advancing within less than ten furlongs off them, encamped also, and lay still.

I will now give an Account how strong both Armies were: there were drawn together about six thousand of the *Lacedemonian* Heavy-armed men, of the *Eleans*, *Triphylians*, *Acrorians*, and *Lafioneans* near 3000; of *Sicyonians* 1500, of *Epi-aurians*, *Træzenians*, *Hermioneans* and *Halicans* no less than 3000; besides these there were six hundred *Lacedemonian* Horse, supported by three hundred *Cretan* Archers. Of the *Marganean*, *Ledrian*, *Amphidolian* Slingers, no less than four hundred. The *Phliansians* were not
in

in the Army, but pretended there was a Truce. These were the Forces of the *Lacedemonians*. The Enemies Army consisted in six thousand *Athenian* Heavy-armed men, and as the report went, seven thousand *Argives*. The *Exotians*, the *Orchomenians* being not there, were but about 5000. the *Corinthians* three thousand, and out of all *Eubæa* three thousand more. These were their Heavy-armed men. The *Bæotian* Horse, the *Orchomenians* being not there were about eight hundred, the *Athenian* near six hundred, of the *Chalcideans* that came out of *Eubæa* an hundred, of the *Locri Opuntij* fifty. The Light-armed men together with the *Corinthians* exceeded this number, being joyned by the *Locri Ozolæ*, the *Me-leans*, and *Acarnanians*. These were the Forces on both sides.

The *Bæotians*, whilst they had the left Wing, were not urgent for a Battel, but when the *Athenians* were drawn up against the *Lacedemonians*, and they opposed to the *Achæans* in the right, they immediately cried out, the Sacrifice was auspicious, and ordered to make ready for a Battle. Here at first they took no care to draw up sixteen in Front, but made their Battalion altogether deep, nor did they

they move to the right, that they might thereby outwing the Enemy. The *Athenians* followed, that they might not be disordered, although they understood that they were in danger of being surrounded. Hitherto the *Lacedemonians* did not discover that the Enemy advanced, because the Place thereabouts was woody; but after they had begun to sing the *Pæan*, they then perceived them instantly, and commanded all to prepare for fighting, and being drawn up in the order, the Officers of the *Mercenaries* had marshalled each Battalion; they were commanded to follow their Leader. The *Lacedemonians* advanced towards the right of the Enemy, and did so far outwing them, that the *Lacedemonians* confronted six of the *Athenian* Regiments, and the *Tegeans* four.

Now both Armies being less than a Furlong distant from each other, the *Lacedemonians* according to custom sacrificed a Goat to *Minerva Agrotera*, and advanced toward the Enemy, wheeling about to surround them with the part of their Wing that out-reached theirs. When the Battels were joyned; all the *Lacedemonian* Confederates were foyled by the Enemy; except the *Pellenians* that fought the

the *Thespians*, who behaved themselves so well, that several were slain on both sides. The *Lacedemonians* beat as many of the *Athenians* as fell to their share, and surrounded them with their extended Wing, cutting off a great many, and marched on in good order, as if they had suffered nothing; and passed by four of the *Athenian* Regiments before they gave over the pursuit. Nor did they lose any men except those in the Charge against the *Tegeans*; but in their return they fell upon the *Argives*, and as the foremost Colonel was going to attack them, one, they say, cried out to let the foremost of the Enemy pass, which being done accordingly, they galled their Flank, and killed a great many men that fled by them. After that, they received the *Corinthians* coming back from pursuing, and cut in pieces abundance of them. Upon this the routed fled first to the Garrisons, but afterwards by the Example of the *Corinthians*, betook themselves to their former Camp; thereupon the *Lacedemonians* returned to the Place where the Battel begun, and erected a Trophy. This is the account of that Fight.

In the mean while *Agessilaus* hastned with Succours out of *Asia*, and whilst he was

was at *Amphipolis* ; *Dercyllidas* brought him the News of a Victory the *Lacedemonians* had obtained with the loss of considerable numbers on the Enemies side, and but eight *Lacedemonians*, though several of their Confederates were killed. Then *Agésilas* said to him, *Dercyllidas* ? would it not be convenient that the Cities which have sent their Forces to joyn ours should have Intelligence of it with all speed ? *Dercyllidas* made answer that they would be the more encouraged if they heard on't. Therefore since you are here, said *Agésilas*, you might make a fit Messenger. *Dercyllidas* hearkned willingly to this, for he loved travelling, and said to *Agésilas*, I'll go if you'll command me. Then I command you, replied he, and moreover I would have you tell them, that if things succeed well here, I'll be with them again according to my Promise,

Dercyllidas was now departed from the *Hellepont*, and *Agésilas* marched through *Macedon*, and came into *Thessaly*, where the *Larisseans*, *Cranonians*, *Scotusæans*, and *Pharsalians* being in League with the *Bæotians*, together with all the *Thessalians*, except the Exiles, pursued him, and cut off some of his Rear. He marched with his Army in a Square, placing one half

of

of his Cavalry in the Front, and the other in the Rear, but the *Thessalians* attacking his Rear, and hindering his March, he sent all the Horse to the Front, except his own Guards. As soon as they confronted each other, the *Thessalians* not thinking fit with their Horse to engage the Heavy-armed men, faced about, and retreated gently : *Agésilas*'s Horse pursued them unadvisedly, and he finding both them and the Enemy in disorder, sent his own Guards, being very stout men, and ordered them to command the rest to pursue with all speed imaginable, and not give them opportunity of facing about. The *Thessalians* seeing the *Lacedemonians* coming upon them contrary to their expectation, some of them fled, some turned upon the Enemy, and others that attempted the like were flanked by the Horse, and taken. *Polymachus* the *Pharsalian* that commanded the Horse faced about, and fighting with those he had with him, was slain. Thereupon the *Thessalians* falling into a confused Flight, some were killed, and others taken, nor did they make an halt, till they had recovered the Mountain *Narthacium*. Then *Agésilas* erected a Trophy between *Pras* and *Narthacium*, and rested there, being

P

much

much pleased with the Action, in that he had beat those Cavalry that gloried in their Horfemanship, with such Horfe as he himself had raised.

Next day passing the *Achæan* Mountains of *Pthia* he marched through a Friends Countrey, till he came to the frontiers of *Bæotia*, and as he was entering the Enemies Countrey, the Sun appeared like a Crescent; News came too that the *Lacedemonians* were beaten at Sea, and that their Admiral *Pisander* was killed. There was a Relation of the Engagement how it was; that both the Fleets engaged about *Cnidus*, that *Pharnabazus* the Admiral was there with the *Phœnicians*, and *Conon* with the *Grecian* Navy lay in the Front; and that when *Pisander* had drawn up against *Conon*, it appeared he had fewer Ships in his whole Navy, than he only in the *Grecian* Fleet. The Confederates that were in the Rear ran immediately; but *Pisander* engaging the Enemy with a stemmed Gally, was forced aground, and the rest that were driven ashore left their Ships, getting as well as they could into *Cnidus*, only *Pisander* fought on board his own Ship, till he was slain.

Agefilaus was exceedingly troubled at first

first when he heard it, yet recollecting that as the News of good Success is a marvellous encouragement to an Army; so if things fall out ill, it is not necessary to let them know it; he soon after changed his Mind, and reported to the Soldiers how *Pisander* was killed, but had got the Victory; and after he had related it, he offered some Bullocks for the good News, and sent part of the Sacrifice to several Persons. So that a light skirmish happening, *Agefilaus's* men beat the Enemy, upon the Fame of this Sea-Victory that he gave out the *Lacedemonians* had won.

There were opposed to *Agefilaus*, the *Bæotians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Ænians*, *Eubæans*, and both the *Locris*: *Agefilaus* had with him a Regiment of *Lacedemonians* that came from *Corinth*, and half of another from *Orchomenus*, having beside these the Half Slaves from *Lacedemon*, and the *Mercenaries* that *Hierippidas* commanded; as also those that he joyned in his march from the *Greek* Cities in *Asia* and *Europe*; there he was joyned by the *Orchomenians*, and *Phœcean* Heavy-armed men. *Agefilaus* was stronger in Targetiers, but the Horfe were equal, and these were the Forces of both Armies.

The Battel
at Chero-
nea.

I will give a Relation of the Fight, being such an one as has not happened in our time. The Armies met on the Plains near *Coronea*, *Agefilaus's* Forces marching from the *Cephisus*, and the *Thebans* from *Helicon*. *Agefilaus* led the Van himself, the *Orchomenians* being in the Rear of all: the *Thebans* had the Van of their Army, and the *Argives* the Rear. Just as they engaged there was a profound Silence in both Armies, and when they were within a Furlongs distance, the *Thebans* set up a shout, and gave a furious charge, afterwards at the distance of three hundred feet, the Mercenaries of *Agefilaus's* Battalion that *Herippidas* commanded, ran upon the Enemy; and together with them the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Hellepontians*; these were all those that ran together, and by that time they came within a Pikes length, they routed those that confronted them. Nor did the *Argives* stand *Agefilaus's* men, but fled to *Helicon*: here when some of the Mercenaries were already setting a Garland upon *Agefilaus's* head, advice came that the *Thebans* had beaten the *Orchomenians*, and made their way to the Baggage: thereupon he moved with his Battalion, and marched towards them. The *Thebans*

bans seeing their Companions fled, and desirous to make their escape to them, got together in a Body, and retired with diligence.

Now without all Controversie we may allow *Agefilaus* to be a man of great courage, though here he took not the safest course; for he might have let those that retreated, have passed him, and in the pursuit have cut off their Rear; though he did not so, but faced the *Thebans*, and fell upon their Front. So they engaged, and clashing their Bucklers together, fought, slew, and were slain; at last some of the *Thebans* escaped to *Helicon*, and several in their Retreat were killed.

Afterwards when *Agefilaus* having gotten the Victory, was brought wounded to his Battalion, some of the Horse went and told him that there were about eighty of the Enemy, with their Arms in the Temple of *Minerva Itonia*, and demanded what should be done with them. He, though he had received several Wounds, did not forget the Priviledges of Sanctuary, but commanded to let them go whither they would, and suffered none to injure them. Then (because it was late) they supped, and reposed themselves, and in the Morning he commanded *Gylis* a

Colonel to draw up the Army, to erect a Trophy to crown all with Garlands in Honour of the Goddess; the Pipers were also ordered to play, which was done accordingly. The *Thebans* sent Heralds to desire a Truce that they might fetch off their slain, which was granted. *Agefilaus* went to offer the tenth of the Spoil to *Apollo at Delphos*, which was not less than an hundred Talents.

Gylis the Colonel marcht with the Army into *Phocis*, and there fell into *Locris*; the day after the Soldiers plundered the Villages; and took away both Goods, and Provisions, but towards the Evening as the *Lacedemonians* retreated, the *Locri* pursued and galled them with their Lances and Javelins. The *Lacedemonians* facing about and following them, killed some, and after that they fell no more upon their Rear, but shot at them from the Eminencies. The *Lacedemonians* tried to drive them through the Precipices, but as it grew dark, they by the reason of the difficult Pass, were killed in their Retreat, some because they could not see before them, and others perished by the Shot. There *Gylis* and some of his Seconds fell, with eighteen Soldiers in all; some being knocked on the head with

Peget. calls these Ad-Bites.

with Stones, and others dying of their Wounds; so that if several that were at Supper in the Camp had not succoured them, they had all been in danger to be cut off.

After the Soldiers were sent home to their several Cities, *Agefilaus* returned to *Lacedemon* by Sea: At the same time the War was carried on by the Confederates who made Excursions from *Corinth*, against the *Lacedemonians*, and their Allies who made *Sicyon* the Seat of the War. The *Corinthians* seeing their Country destroyed, their Subjects consumed by the War, and exposed to the Violence of the Enemy, when the rest of the Confederates were free from Depredations and enjoyed their own Estates; the Generality, especially the Principal men desiring Peace conferred together, and disposed one another thereto. But when those of the Confederates, who had received money from the King, and were the greatest Promoters of the War, considered, that the City would go near to take part with the *Lacedemonians*, if they took not off those who were inclined to Peace, they resolved upon a Massacre. And at the first they engaged in a most horrid and bloody Design; for whereas none though

Eubulides Archon.

Argives, Boeotians, Athenians.

condemned to die, are executed in the Feast *Euclea*, yet they fixt upon the last day thereof for this Slaughter, because they thought that then they should catch most in the Market-place. So when the Conspirators had notice whom to kill, they drew their Swords, and cut some in pieces as they stood talking together, others as they were sitting, some in the Play-house, and the Judge upon the Bench.

There was a Temple in honour of *Diana Euclea* in *Boeotia*, and another in *Attica*, and I suppose the Feast here might be called from thence,
vide Pauf.

As soon as the Design was known, some of the Principal men fled immediately to the Images in the Market-place, and others to the Altars, but both the Murderers, and those who set them on being eminently wicked, and void of all sense of humanity, butchered them in the Holy Places: Insomuch that some good men, who were not to be massacred, were exceedingly afflicted to behold such barbarous Villainies. Several of the Old men being at that time in the Market-place were killed; but the Young men (*Past-melus* having some suspicion of it, remained in the Artillery Ground) till the Cry was heard, when some escaping the Slaughter came thither, and running from thence into the Tower, they repulsed the *Argives* with the rest that attacked them.

Whilst

Whilst they were consulting what to do, the Capital of a Pillar fell down, though there was neither Earthquake, nor Wind stirring, and when they sacrificed the Entrails were such, that the Priests signified, it would be their safest way to depart out of the Place. So they at first like men going into Exile forsook their Countrey *Corinth*; but when their Friends, Relations, and some of the Magistrates came to them, entreating, and promising them upon their Oaths that they should live at home in security, several returned back again. Yet when they saw them play the Tyrants, and that their Countrey was ruined, being called *Argos* instead of *Corinth*, their Boundaries pulled down, and themselves forced to be made Denizens of the former, which they had no occasion to be, and of less Power in their own Countrey, than Foreigners: Some of them thinking this kind of Life not to be born, endeavoured to reduce *Corinth* to such a condition as it had been formerly in, and by restoring it to its Liberty, and wholesome Laws, to purge it from Murderers; which if they were able to effect, they should be called the Saviours of it, and if they could not, yet they having aimed at the noblest and greatest of De-

signs

signs shall obtain a glorious Death.

Whereupon two men only *Pasimelus* and *Alcimenés* attempted it, and passed a Brook to meet *Praxitas* a *Lacedemonian* Colonel, who at that time was with his Regiment in *Garifon* at *Sicyon*: they acquainted him that they could let him into the Town the way that leads to the *Lechæum*. *Praxitas* knowing them formerly to be trusty men, gave credit to what they said, and procuring the Regiment which was marching out of *Sicyon* to continue there, contrived how he might convey himself into the Town. The men by their own diligence had the good fortune to keep those Gates where the Trophy was erected. *Praxitas* coming thither with his Regiment, as also the *Sicyonians*, and *Corinthian* Fugitives, and being near the Walls feared to enter, but determined to send in a trusty Fellow to see how Affairs stood within the City. The two men *Pasimelus* and *Alcimenés* shewed them all things so much to the their satisfaction, that he which went in with them reported that every thing was without fraud according to the account the men had given. Soon after *Praxitas* entred the City, and when he saw his Party, after they were drawn up, to be weak
by

by reason of the distance of the Walls one from another, the Soldiers made a *Palisado*, and a Trench, such an one as they could, till their Confederates came with Succours, for they had behind them in the *Porta Garifon* of *Bæotians*. The next day after the Night that they entred the City, there was no Skirmish; the day following, the *Argives* coming with their whole Power against them, found the *Lacedemonians* in the right, the *Sicyonians* and an hundred and fifty *Corinthian* Exiles next them. The Enemy confronted them at the Eastern Part of the Wall, next to which were *Philocrates* and his Mercenaries, just by them the *Argives*, and the Townsmen of *Corinth* in the left. The *Argives* being confident of their Numbers charged the Enemy, and beat the *Sicyonians*, ruined their *Palisado*, and pursued them to the Sea, where they killed several of them. *Pasimachus* Colonel of the Horse, though he had but a small Party, when he saw the *Sicyonians* hard prest; yet he commanded his men to tie their Horses to the Trees, and take *Sicyonian* Bucklers, and afterwards getting a Body of men together, fell upon the *Argives*.

* The
Greeks had
the first
Letter of
their re-
spective
Countries
upon their
Bucklers,
as the Ar-
gives A.
the Sicyo-
nians S.

The latter seeing the * *Sigma's* on their Bucklers supposed they had been *Sicyonians*, and therefore did not fear them in the least. Then *Pasimachus* is reported to have said, In good Faith! these *Sigma's* will deceive you, and giving the charge he fought with an handful against great Numbers, till both himself, and those about him were killed. The *Corinthian* Exiles beat those that they engaged with, and gained the upper Ground, whereupon they advanced to the Wall of the Town. The *Lacedemonians* being possessed of the *Palisado* on the left, when they perceived the *Sicyonians* were beaten, came out to their Relief. But when the *Argives* saw them in the Rear, they turned their backs, and fled confusedly out of their Works; and those likewise in the Rear of the right were flanked, and cut in pieces by them; but they who were by the Wall, run back to the Town in great disorder, yet meeting with the Exiles, and perceiving them to be Enemies, they gave back again, where some mounting the Walls leaped down and perished, others being close pursued to the Ladders were wounded and killed. Several were trodden to death by the Crowd, so that the *Lacedemonians* had choice of men to slay. At
that

that time Providence put such an opportunity into their hands as they themselves durst not have prayed for. For who would not esteem it Providence that an handful of men should destroy a Multitude, being struck with a Panick fear, amazed, exposed, none of them offering to turn again, and all contributing something or other to their own destruction? In a little compass of time a great many were slain, so that as usually one sees heaps of Corn, Wood, or Stones, here you might see heaps of Carcasses. Some of the *Bæotian* Garrison were killed in the Port, others upon the Walls, and some upon the covering of the Docks.

Soon after the *Corinthians* and *Argives* made a Truce, and fetcht off their slain. When the *Lacedemonian* Confederates came with Succors, *Praxitas* got hismen together, and resolved to throw down the Wall, that the Army might enter at the Breach, and marching with his Forces the way that leads to *Megara*, he attacked *Sidas*, and took that and *Crommyo*, in which Towns he left Garrisons, and in his Return fortified *Epicæa*, because, it being near an Allie's Countrey, might serve the Confederates for a Place of Defence. After that he disbanded the Army, and
went

went to *Lacedemon*. From this time no considerable Expeditions were undertaken, only the Cities sent recruits to *Corinth* and *Sicyon* to defend those Places; but both sides having a great many Mercenaries they carried on the War very vigorously with these.

At the same time *Iphicrates* going to make an attempt upon *Phlius*, with his small Forces made Excursions, but those of the Town being not careful to relieve their men, he killed so many of them, that the *Phliasians* who before would not receive the *Lacedemonians* into their City, fearing they would restore those Exiles that pretended to be banished for adhering to their Interest, were now so frightened at these *Athenians* who were at *Corinth*, that they sent to the *Lacedemonians*, and put the Town and Citadel under their Protection. However though the *Lacedemonians* had a regard to the Exiles, yet they made no mention of recalling them home, as long as they were possessors of *Phlius*. But quitted the Place as soon as the People began to come to themselves, and restored them their Laws, and Government in the same condition they found them.

Iphicrates Soldiers making frequent Incursions

curfions into *Arcadia*, harassed it, and attacked their fortified Places, for the *Arcadian* heavy-armed men durst never look them in the face without their walls; such a terror were these Targetiers to them. And these Targetiers did so dread the *Lacedemonian* Heavy-armed men that they would not come within reach of their Lances. For once the *Lacedemonians* took and killed several of them in a Pursuit; and the *Lacedemonians* who before despised those Targetiers, did now much more condemn their own Confederates, because once when the *Mantineans* came to relieve their own men, and attacked the Targetiers, the latter threw their Javelins at them from off the Wall that reaches towards *Lechæum*, and making them give back, pursued, and slew several of them. So that the *Lacedemonians* jeered their Confederates for being as much afraid of the Targetiers, as Children are of Bugbears. The *Lacedemonians* and *Corinthian* Exiles marching out of the *Lechæum* invested the City of *Corinth*. On the contrary, the *Athenians* dreading the Power of the *Lacedemonians*, and fearing they would come upon them with their whole Forces by the Long-walls which *Praxitas* had demolished, thought it

it necessary to rebuild part of them. In order thereto they came with abundance of Masons and Carpenters, and within a few days time completely rebuilt that part of the Wall which looked towards *Sicyon*, and the West, but that toward the East they finished more at leisure.

Demostratus Archon.

In the mean while the *Lacedemonians* observing that the *Argives* lived at home in Plenty, and were mightily taken with the War, undertook an Expedition against them. *Agefilaus* led the Army, who burnt their Countrey, and passing directly from thence to *Corinth* by the way of *Tegea*, took the Walls which the *Athenians* had rebuilt. At the same time his Brother *Teleutias* attended him by Sea with twelve Gallies. So that their Mother might deservedly esteem her self the most happy Woman living: for that the same day she beheld the successful Arms of one of her Sons against the Enemies Towns, and Castles at Land, and of the others against their Fleets and Shipyards at Sea. *Agefilaus* having atchieved this, disbanded the Confederates, and led his own Forces home.

*Olymp. 97.
Philocles
Archon.*

Afterwards the *Lacedemonians* learning from the Exiles of *Corinth* how Affairs stood there, that they had all their Cattle

Cattle in the City, which they kept in the *Piræum*, whereby a great many subsisted; made another Expedition against *Corinth* under the Conduct of *Agefilaus*. He marched first to the *Isthmus* the same Month wherein the Games were celebrated: there the *Argives* were sacrificing to *Neptune*, as though *Argos*, and *Corinth* had been both the same, but when they heard of *Agefilaus*'s coming, they left their Sacrifices, and Preparations they had made for Feasting, and retired in confusion to the City, the way that leads to *Cenchreæ*. *Agefilaus*, though they were in view, did not pursue them, but abode in the Temple, and offered to *Neptune*, remaining there till the *Corinthian* Exiles had sacrificed and celebrated the Games.

After his Departure the *Argives* renewed the *Isthmian* Sports, so that this year every Prize was twice won, and the Champions were twice declared Victors. The fourth day *Agefilaus* led his Army to the *Piræum*, but when he saw it was defended by a strong Garrison, he marched back again to the City after Dinner, making as if it were to be surrendered to him: whereupon the *Corinthians* fearing it might be delivered up to him indeed, sent for *Iphicrates*, and the greatest part

of the Targetiers. But *Agessilaus*, when he discovered that they were passed by in the Night, marcht back again by break of day towards the *Piræum*, and took his way by the Bath, commanding the Regiment to possess themselves of the top of an Hill. This Night he encamped himself by the Bath, but the Regiment abode on the Hill; and at that time he was famed for a slight, though seasonable, invention: for none of those who carried Provisions to the Regiment having conveyed fire to them, though it was cold by reason of the Rain and Hail in the Evening, and for that being Summer time they had only their Linnen Cloaths on, and lay on the top of a very high Hill, he sent them ten men with fire in Pots, as they were benumbed with cold, in the dark, and without Stomacks. These men scrambled up the Hill some how or other, and having good store of Wood, made great fires, whereupon the Soldiers anointed themselves, and several of them fell to eating afresh. That Night they discovered the Temple of *Neptune* on fire, but who fired it none can tell.

When those in the Town saw the *Piræum* was taken, they no longer made any defence, but Men, Women, Slaves, and Freemen

Freemen retired with most of the Cattle to *Juno's* Temple. *Agessilaus* marched with the Army along the Shore, whilst the Regiment came down the Hill at the same time, and took *Oenoe* a strong Place, and all the Booty in it. The same day, the Soldiers got abundance of Provisions out of those Places, and they that fled into *Juno's* Temple came out and surrendered upon Discretion. All the Murderers he ordered to be delivered up to the Exiles, and the rest to be sold for Slaves; soon after a great number of Prisoners came out of the Temple. Several Ambassadors came to *Agessilaus*, and amongst the rest, some from the *Bæotians*, to know upon what Terms they might obtain a Peace, but he very superciliously did not vouchsafe them so much as a look, though introduced by *Pharax*, who had formerly been their Publick Host, but sat in a round Building near a Lake, viewing the number of Prisoners, as they were brought out of the Temple. These the *Lacedemonians* attended and guarded with their Pikes, being mightily gazed on. For usually the Fortunate and Victorious attract the Eyes of all Spectators.

Whilst *Agessilaus* sat seemingly transported, one came riding up to him with

his Horse in a Foam, and when several asked him what News, he gave no Answer to any one, but approached near *Agefilaus*, and springing from his Horse, related with a sad countenance the disaster that befel the Regiment in the *Lechæum*. When *Agefilaus* heard it, he instantly flew from his Seat, and took his Lance, commanding the Cryer to call the Colonels and Captains, and Commanders of the Mercenaries; and after they were assembled he ordered the rest, to eat any thing they could get, for they had not yet dined, and follow him with all speed. He himself though he had not dined, marched on before, with *Damafias's* men, being followed by the Guards with Diligence. By that time he had passed the Bath, and reached the Plain of *Lechæum*, there came three Horsemen riding up to him with the News, that the Bodies of the slain were recovered; which when he heard, he commanded the Army to halt, and resting a while, marched on to *Juno's* Temple. Next day the Slaves were sold, and the *Bæotian* Ambassadors being called, were asked what they came for, they made no mention of Peace, but only told *Agefilaus*, that with his leave, they would go speak with their own Countreymen

in

in the City, he smiled and said to them, I know you are not so much desirous to see them, as to observe the considerable Success your Allies have had. Stay therefore says he, and I'll conduct you thither, and you shall have a true Information of the Matter. He was as good as his word too, for the day following he sacrificed, and advanced with his Army to the City, and though he did not throw down the * Trophy, yet he cut * A Tro.
phy was a
Stone with
an Inscr.
ption of
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ed, as we
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Causab. ad
Athen.
it was dedi-
cated, and
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Causab. ad
Athen.

down all the Trees, and broke them in pieces, showing thereby that none durst come out against him. After that he encamped by the *Lechæum*, and did not conduct the *Theban* Ambassadors into the City, but sent them home by Sea to *Creusis*.

There was great Lamentation made in the Lacedemonian Army, they being unaccustomed to such Misfortunes as these; yet those whose Relations were killed upon the Spot, were gay and merry after their private losses, as though they had been Victorious.

The Disaster that befel the *Lacedemonians*, was after this manner. The *Amyleans* always resort to celebrate the

Q3

Hymns

* A Feast kept three days with great Lamentation, where in they eat no Bread but Sweet-meats, *Athen. Lib. 4.*

Hymns in the * *Hyacinthian Feast*, whether they be in the Campagne, or abroad any where else. And because *Agésilas* had left all the *Amycleans* in the Garison at *Lechæum*, the Colonel who commanded in the Place, ordered the Confederates to defend it, whilst he with the Regiment of Heavy-armed men and Horse, conveyed the *Amycleans* by the Walls of *Corinth*. When they came within twenty or thirty furlongs of *Sicyon*, the Colonel of Heavy-armed men, which were about six hundred, returned to the *Lechæum*, and commanded the Colonel of Horse to conduct the *Amycleans* with his Regiment as far as they desired, and then to march back again. Though they knew there were a great many Targetiers, and Heavy-armed men in *Corinth*, yet they despised them because of their former Success, supposing none durst offer to meddle with them. But † *Callias* General of the *Athenian* Heavy-armed men, and *Iphicrates* who commanded the Targetiers, discovering from *Corinth* that they were a small Party, and not flankt with Targetiers, or Horse, thought they might securely set upon them with their own Targetiers. For if the Enemy marcht on, they would gall them with their Lances, and cut them

† Son of *Elipponichus*.

them in pieces; or if the *Lacedemonians* offered to pursue, the nimble Targetiers could easily decline the Heavy-armed men. They resolved upon this, and sallied out. *Callias* placed the Heavy-armed men not far from the City, and *Iphicrates* took the Targetiers, with whom he charged the Regiment. When the *Lacedemonians* were galled with the Lances, some of them being wounded, and others slain, they ordered their Squires to carry off the killed to *Lechæum*. And to speak the truth, these only escaped of the whole Regiment.

Hereupon the Colonel commanded those who were ten years past man's estate to repulse the said Targetiers, but being Heavy-armed men, they could not come so near as to reach them with their Lances, because the *Athenian* General had commanded the Targetiers to retreat before the Heavy-armed men closed with them, but the latter pursuing them eagerly in several small Parties, *Iphicrates's* Targetiers darted their Javelins, and others ran by galling their Flanks, so that nine or ten were killed in the first Onset.

After this they attacked the *Lacedemonians* more boldly, and when they began to press them hard, the Colonel com-

manded those that were fifteen years above man's estate to pursue the Enemy, and in this pursuit they lost more men than in the former. And now the bravest of their men were killed; yet a Body of Horse coming in to their Relief, they pursued again; and unadvisedly followed the Targetiers as they retreated, not only till they had killed some, but till they came even with the Front of those that were formost in the pursuit, and so faced about again.

When they had suffered alike the second time, their Numbers continually decreased, and they began to droop, but the Enemy grew more bold by these successful Attempts. At length being in suspense what to do, they retired to a little Hill about two furlongs from the Sea, and about sixteen or seventeen from the *Lechæum*; which when the Garison there discovered, they got on board some Vessels, and coasted along the Shore, till they came to the Place. The *Lacedemonians* being now reduced to a greater strait, because they had suffered extremly, and lost a great many men, were not able to make any longer Defence, but when they saw the Heavy-armed men come upon them, they fell to flight, some throwing themselves

themselves into the Sea, and a few escaping with the Horse into the *Lechæum*. In all the Skirmishes and Pursuit there were about two hundred and fifty slain. This is the Account of that Action.

Soon after *Agefilaus* taking with him the Regiment which was defeated, left another instead of it in the *Lechæum*, and in his march home, entred the Towns very late, and set forth as soon as he could; for he marcht out of *Orchomenus* very early, and passed by *Mantineia* before it was light; so unwilling were the Soldiers to be seen by the *Mantineans*, thinking they would rejoyce at their Calamitie! After this, *Iphicrates* was yet more successful, for tho *Praxitas* had taken *Sidus* and *Crommyo*, and placed Garisons in them; and *Agefilaus* had possessed himself of the *Piræum*, and fortified *Oenoe*, yet he retook all these Places except the *Lechæum*, which was defended by a Garison of the *Lacedemonians*, and their Confederates. The Exiles of *Corinth*, because of the Regiments Defeat, went no longer by Land from *Sicyon*, but by Sea, and infested those in the City, as well as sustained some mischief from them. Soon after the *Achæans* being possessed of *Calydon*, a Town formerly belonging to the *Aetolians*,

Ætolians, and naturalizing the *Calydonians*, were obliged to maintain a Garrison therein, because it was blockt up by the *Acarnanians*, being joyned by a Body of *Athenians*, and *Bæotians*, with whom they were in League. The *Achæans* being in distress, sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* to complain that they had not Justice done them.

The Achæan's
Speech.

My Lords, we joyn with you, and serve you in your Wars according to your Summons, but when we were blockt up by the Acarnanians, and their Allies, we were the least of your care. If Affairs go thus, it will be impossible for us longer to subsist; so that either we must let fall the War in Peloponnesus, and pass into our own Countrey to make opposition against the Acarnanians, and their Confederates, or else accept such a Peace as they will please to give us.

Nicoteles
Archon.

This they said, intimating that they would break their League with the *Lacedæmonians*, unless they sent them Succors. Upon this Speech, the *Ephori* and Council resolved that it was necessary to assist the *Achæans* against the *Acarnanians*, and thereupon they sent out *Agefilaus* with two Regiments, and a Party of the Confederates, with whom the *Achæans* joyned their

their whole Force. As soon as *Agefilaus* began his Campaigne, the *Acarnanian* Countreymen retired into the Garrisons, and drove their Cattel a great way into the Countrey, that they might not be surprized by the Enemy. A while after when he arrived in the frontiers, he dispatched one to the Community of the *Acarnanians* at *Stratus*, to let them know, that if they did not quit their League with the *Bæotians*, and *Athenians*, and accept the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he would immediately ravage their Countrey, and lay all wast before him. They regarded not his Message, and he Made good his Word. For he fell presently to destroying the Countrey, but did not advance above ten or twelve furlongs a day, so that the *Acarnanians* concluding themselves to be secure from the slow Progress of the Army, drew their Cattel down the Mountains, and sowed most of their Ground.

At length *Agefilaus* supposing they were grown over confident, sacrificed the fifteenth or sixteenth day after he entred their Territory, and before Night marched an hundred and sixty Furlongs to a certain Lake, where most of their Cattel were, and took abundance of Oxen, and Horses

Horses, with several sorts of other Beasts, as also a great many Captives. All which Booty, he staid, and sold the next day. In the mean while several of the *Acarnianians* Targetiers came up and made use of their Javelins, and Slings, but *Agefilaus* being encamped on an Hill, sustained no damage, only the Soldiers, as they were providing Supper were forced to march down into the Plain. At Night when the *Acarnianians* drew off, and set their Centinels, the Army reposed themselves. Next day *Agefilaus* decamped, but the Pass out of the Meadows and Plain, being strait, by reason of the Mountains which surrounded the Lake, the *Acarnianians* possessed themselves of the Hills, and put the Enemy to a great deal of trouble with their Lances and Javelins from the Eminencies, and descending from thence gave them such a diversion, that they were not able to march any farther. Nor did the Heavy-armed men and Horse which were drawn out of the Body of the Army with design to pursue, do them any harm, because they retired to their fastnesses.

Agefilaus considering it would be a difficult matter for his men, who had been in such hard Service, to force this Pass, resolved

resolved to pursue those that charged in the left, being a strong Party, that had pressed hard upon them, because this Hill was easier for the Heavy-armed men and Horse to pass. Whilst he was sacrificing the *Acarnianians* put them hard to't with their Lances, and Javelins, and advancing very near, wounded several of them. But when he commanded his men to pursue, the heavy-armed men who were fifteen years past man's estate ran upon them, the Horse moved, and he himself followed with the rest. Immediately the *Acarnianians* who came down the hill, and made some light Skirmishes with the Enemy, soon turned their backs, and were cut in pieces in their retreat to the ascent thereof. The *Acarnianian* Heavy-armed men were posted on the top of the Hill, and continued there with a strong Party of Targetiers, who amongst others threw their Lances, wherewith they galled the Cavalry, and killed some of their Horses. Yet when they were just going to close with the *Lacedemonian* Heavy-armed men, they fell to flight and about three hundred of them were killed, for which Action *Agefilaus* erected a Trophy, and after that went ravaging and destroying the Country.

The

The *Acarnanians* thinking he had done them no Service at all, because he had not taken in any place either by Surrender, or Siege, intreated him that if he would condescend to nothing else, yet that he would stay only so long as to hinder the *Enemie's* Seed time. He told them they made a very unreasonable demand. For (said he) I shall march hither again the next Summer, and the more they sow, the more desirous will they be of Peace. This, he said, and made such a march by Land through *Ætolia*, as neither a small nor a great Army could have done without the leave of the *Ætoliens*, but they let him pass at that time, hoping to recover *Naupactus* by his Assistance. At last he took his way by *Rhium*, and returned home, because the *Athenians* had put to Sea with their Fleet from *Oeniadae*, and stopt his passage from *Calydon* into *Peloponnesus*.

Demonstratus
Archon.

After Winter was past, *Agessilaus* according to his Promise got an Army together early in the Spring to make an expedition against the *Acarnanians*; but they having intelligence hereof, and supposing that they being Inhabitants of an Inland Countrey, should be blockt up by those that destroyed their Corn, in the same

same manner, as if they were besieged in Towns, sent Ambassadors to *Lacedemon* to make Peace with the *Achaens*, and an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*. And this is the Account of the *Acarnanian* Affairs.

About this time the *Lacedemonians* designing to make an Expedition against the *Athenians* and *Bæotians*, resolved to send an Army against *Argos*, not thinking it safe to leave behind them so potent a City as that in their Neighbourhood, and at War with them. *Agessipolis* understanding he was to command the Forces, procured an auspicious Sacrifice for his Voyage, and went to *Jupiter's* Oracle at *Olympia*, to enquire whether he might in Justice refuse the Peace offered by the *Argives*, or not, being they made no Proposals at any seasonable time, but devised shifts to divert the War just when the *Lacedemonians* were ready to enter their Territories. The Oracle answered, He might lawfully refuse a Peace, which was not offered at a fit time. From thence he went to *Apollo* at *Delphos* to know whether he was of the same Opinion with his Father concerning the Peace, 'twas answered, he was. Whereupon *Agessipolis* drew his Army out of *Phlius*,
(for

(for there the Forces were assembled till he went to both Oracles) and entred the Enemy's Countrey by the way of *Ne-mea*.

When the *Argives* found they could not prevent the War, they as their way was, sent two Heralds crowned with Garlands to make overtures of Peace. *Agefipolis*, answered them, that the Gods did not think the Peace was fairly offered, nor did he accept it, but fell on, which caused a terror, and put those of the City and Countrey into a Consternation. The first day he dined in the Countrey of *Argos*, and when the usual Sacrifices were offered, after Supper there happened an Earthquake. The *Lacedemonians* having began their March from home, sung all of them an Hymn to *Neptune*, supposing they should return back again, because *Agis* when formerly there happened one in *Elis* had done the like. To which *Agefipolis* replied, that if the Earthquake had happened before he had entred the Countrey, he should have apprehended as if the God had opposed his Design, but since it was after, he thought he gave him encouragement to proceed.

So the next day he sacrificed to *Neptune*, and marched a little way into the Enemies

Enemies Countrey. And because *Agefipolis* had lately made an Expedition against *Argos*, *Agefipolis* inquired of the Soldiers, how near he advanced to the Walls of the City, and how far into the Countrey, striving Champion like to outdo him in every thing. For one time when he was shot at from the Turrets, he repassed the Ditch that encompassed the Walls; at another, when most of the *Argives* were gone to make an Inroad into *Laconia*, he advanced so near the Gates, that those who guarded them shut out the *Bæotian* Horse that would have put themselves in; fearing the *Lacedemonians* would have entered at the same time with them. So that the Horse were forced to lie as close under the Walls, and the Works, as Bats: and if some *Cretans* had not made an Excursion towards *Nauplia*, several of the men and Horses had been destroyed by the Arrows. Soon after when he encamped at *Erææ*, there fell a Thunderbolt into the Camp, which struck some, and astonished others, so that they died. And when he was designing to fortifie a small Castle at the Pass over *Cælossa*, the Sacrifice wanted *Lobes*, upon which he marched away with his Army, and disbanded it, having very much incom-

moded the *Argives* by so surprising an Invasion.

After this manner was the War managed by Land ; I will now relate what passed about the same time at Sea , and the Maritime Towns , and take notice of those things only which are worth remark, and omit the rest. When *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* had vanquish't the *Lacedemonians* at Sea , they went about first to the Isles , and Maritime Towns , and drove out the *Lacedemonian* Governours, putting them in hopes , that they would not build Citadels in them , but restore them to their Liberty. They, who heard this, were pleased and approved of what was done , sending Presents very readily to *Pharnabazus* ; for *Conon* had acquainted him , that if he took these Measures, he would oblige all the Cities , but if he once went about to enslave them , every particular Place was able to create him trouble, and it was to be feared, that if the *Greeks* apprehended any such Design , they would make an Association. Accordingly *Pharnabazus* was governed by *Conon* in this , and went to *Ephesus* , where he left forty Gallies with *Conon*, ordering him to meet at *Sestus*, and went to his Government by Land. For *Dercyllidas*

tyllidas his old Enemy who was at *Abydus* at the time of the Sea-fight , did not abandon the Place , as other Governors did theirs, but kept it still in the Obedience of the *Lacedemonians* , and calling the *Abydenians* together, made this Speech to them.

As you, Gentlemen, have been formerly *Dercyllidas's* Friends to our State , so now it lies in *Speech to* your power to do us a signal piece of Service. *the Abydians.* It is no marvel if Friends continue faithful in prosperity , but those who remain firm to us, when we are in distress, ought to be had in perpetual remembrance. Yet our condition is not so bad, as totally to be ruined by the loss of one Sea-fight. For formerly when the Athenians Lorded it over the Sea, we were still in so good a condition as to deserve well of our Friends, and to revenge our selves of our Enemies. This Example of your fidelity will be the more illustrious , because at this time our Friends together with our Fortune have deserted us. If any apprehend that we shall here be blockt up both by Sea and Land , let him consider, that there is yet no Grecian Fleet at Sea , neither will the *Greeks* endure that the Barbarians should e'r meddle with the Sovereignty thereof. From whence it follows , that if they de-

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send themselves, they also must assist you.

When they heard this, they very readily complied, and gave a kind reception to the Governors that were present, and sent for those who were absent. At this time several men fit for Service resorted to *Abydus*; and *Dercyllidas* passed over to *Sestos*, a Town opposite to it, being not above eight Furlongs distant, and got together those, to whom the *Lacedemonians* had given Lands in the *Chersonese*, and the Governours which were expelled the Towns in *Europe*. These he entertained in the Service, and told them that they ought not to be disheartned, but rather consider that in *Asia* it self, which time out of mind had been in the King's possession, *Temnos* and *Ægia* which were no very considerable Towns, and other Places too lived under a Government of their own, and paid no Subjection to the *Persian*. *But what stronger Town, said he, can ye possess your selves of than Sestos? What place is more difficult to be besieged than it? For he that intends to take it, must attack it both by Sea and Land.* With this Speech he abated their Fear. When *Pharnabazus* found *Abydus* and *Sestos* in this condition he threatned the

the Townsmen with a War, unless they would expel the *Lacedemonians*; but they regarded him not, and so he gave *Conon* Orders to scour the Seas, and went himself to ravage the *Abydenian's* Countrey. Yet not being able this way to bring them to a Submission, he went home, and left *Conon* to dispose of the Cities on the *Hellepont*, so that by next Spring they might get as great a Fleet together as was possible. For *Pharnabazus* being incensed against the *Lacedemonians* for the Injuries he had suffered from their hands, employed his utmost endeavors to invade their Territories, and revenge himself on them.

The Winter was spent in these Preparations. Early in the Spring *Pharnabazus* fitted out a good Fleet, and hired Mercenaries, sailing with *Conon* through the Isles to *Melus*, and went from thence to *Lacedemon*. His first Arrival was at *Pheræ*, where he destroyed the Countrey, and made Descents into several other Places on the Sea-coast, incommodating the Enemy as much as he could. But being in some apprehension, that there were no Ports upon the Coasts, and that Succors might come, or that he might want Provisions, he soon returned, and

setting sail put into Port at *Phœnicus* in *Cithera*. Here the Garison fearing that they should be besieged and taken, abandoned the Town. These he let go with a Pass to *Laconia*, and having repaired the *Cytherian's* Walls left a Garison in the Place under the Command of the Governour *Nicophebus* an *Athenian*. When he had performed this he went to the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, and encouraged the Confederates to make a vigorous War, and approve themselves faithful to the King. After that he left them all the Money he had, and sailed to his own Countrey. But *Conon* told him, that if he would give him the Command of the Fleet, he would maintain it out of the Islands, and return to *Athens*, where by the help of his Countreymen he would rebuild the Long-walls, and the Wall about the *Piræus*, knowing that nothing could mortifie the *Lacedemonians* more. Moreover, said he, you will oblige the *Athenians* hereby, *Pharnabazus*, and revenge your self on the *Lacedemonians* by rendring that, wherein they have so much laboured, ineffectual.

When *Pharnabazus* heard his Proposals he sent him very readily to *Athens*, and gave him Money wherewith to repair

pair the Walls. Accordingly *Conon* went thither, and disbursing what was necessary, rebuilt a great part of the Wall by the help of his own Sea-men, together with the Carpenters and Masons which he hired. Another part, the *Athenians*, *Boeotians*, and others built at their own Charge. The *Corinthians* fitting out a Fleet with the money *Pharnabazus* left them, made *Agathinus* their Admiral, and became Lords of the Sea-coast of *Achaia*, and the Bay *Lechæum*: On the other hand the *Lacedemonians* set out a Fleet against them, and made *Polemarchus* their Admiral, but, he being slain in an Engagement, and his Vice-Admiral dying of his Wounds, *Herippidas* took the Command thereof. Moreover *Proænus* the *Corinthian* succeeded *Agathinus* in his Command, and parted from *Rhium*, of which the *Lacedemonians* soon after possessed themselves. A while after *Teleutias* went to succeed *Herippidas* in the Fleet, and recovered the Command of the Bay.

In the mean while the *Lacedemonians* receiving Intelligence that *Conon* had rebuilt the Walls of *Athens*, and maintained the Fleet with the King's Money, that so he might reduce several of the Islands

and Maritime Towns to the Obedience of the *Athenians*, thought with themselves, that if they acquainted *Teribazus* the King's General with these things, they should either make him their Ally, or prevail with him to withdraw his Contributions from *Conon's* Fleet. They therefore determined to send *Antalcidas*, and ordered him to give *Teribazus* an Account of the State of Affairs, and to negotiate a Peace between the Republick and the King. But on the contrary, the *Athenians* scenting his Design sent their Ambassadors, desiring the Confederates to joyn theirs, and accordingly some went from the *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*. When they came to *Teribazus*, *Antalcidas* acquainted him that his Message was to desire a Peace of the King for the Republick, and such an one too, as the King himself would gladly have. For the *Lacedemonians* would not contend with the King about the *Greek* Cities in *Asia*, but be satisfied, if the Isles and the other Cities only might enjoy their own Laws. And why then, said he, since our Design is such, do the rest of the *Greeks*, or the King make War upon us? or to what end does he waste his Treasure? For the *Athenians* cannot make War against the King,

Conon, Hermogenes, Din, Callisthenes, Callimedes.

King, without our Conduct, nor we, if the Cities be restored to their Liberty.

Teribazus was hugely taken with *Antalcidas's* Proposals, though the opposite Party thought they were but mere talk: for the *Athenians* were afraid to consent that the Cities, and Islands should enjoy their own Laws, lest they should lose *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, the *Thebans*, lest they should be obliged to restore the Cities of *Bæotia* to their Liberty; the *Argives* also, lest they should forgo *Corinth*, which they earnestly desired to retain; yet at last this Treaty came to nothing, and the Ambassadors departed home. *Teribazus* though he thought it not safe for him to joyn with the *Lacedemonians*, except he had the Kings Orders for it; nevertheless gave *Antalcidas* Money underhand, for the *Lacedemonians* to fit out a Fleet with, that so they, and their Allies might be the more disposed to a Peace. Moreover he kept *Conon* Prisoner for the Injuries he had done the King, believing the report that the *Lacedemonians* gave of him.

After that he went up to acquaint the King with what the *Lacedemonians* said, and that he had seized *Conon* as an Offender, and to know how he should govern himself

himself in these Affairs. When he came to Court, the King sent *Struthas* to take care of the Fleet, one firmly addicted to the Interest of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, not forgetting what the King's Provinces had suffered by *Agesslaus*. But when the *Lacedemonians* saw he was ill affected towards them, and favoured the *Athenians*, they sent *Thimbro* to manage the War against him, who passed into *Asia*, and marching with his Forces from the Towns situate in the Plains of *Megander*, he harassed and destroyed the King's Countrey. A while after *Struthas* observing that *Thimbro* always went out in disorder, and contemned his Enemy, sent a Party of Horse into the Plains, commanding them to make an Excursion, and drive before them what Booty they could light on. At that time *Thimbro* was at Dinner in *Thersander's* Tent, who was not only a good Piper, but a Pretender to Robustness, having been brought up in the *Spartan* Discipline. *Struthas* observing that the formost were but a small Party, and charged in disorder, appeared with a strong Body of Horse in excellent order, and at the first Onset killed *Thimbro* and *Thersander*. After these fell they put the rest to flight, and cut

Ephesus,
Priene, Leu-
ceophris, A-
cchilleum-

cut in pieces a great many in the Pursuit: Some escaped to the Towns of the Confederates, but the greater part perished for want of timely assistance. For *Thimbro* at that time, as at several others, went to relieve his men, without acquainting the main Body of his Forces therewith: and thus Affairs stood in *Asia*.

At that time the *Rhodians*, who were banished by the Populacy, came to *Lacedemon*, and declared how dishonourable it would be to let the *Athenians* subdue *Rhodes*, and get such an Accession of Strength. Hereupon the *Lacedemonians* considering, if the People prevailed that *Rhodes* would fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, but if the Principal men, into theirs, fitted out eight Sail under the Command of *Ecdicus*, and sent *Diphridas* on Board them, with order to pass into *Asia*, and keep those Cities faithful which had received *Thimbro*, to recruit the Forces which were left, and to make War with them upon *Struthas*. *Diphridas* observed his Orders, and amongst his other Successes took *Tigranes*, and his Wife the Daughter of *Struthas* in their Journey to *Sardes*; on whom he set so high a Ransome, that with it he raised Money enough to pay his Army. He was

was had in as great esteem by the Soldiers as *Thimbro*, being one who had the Government of himself, and accomplisht whatsoever he undertook. When *Ecdicus* arrived at *Cnidus*, and understood that the people were Masters both at Sea and Land, and that they had a Fleet as strong again as his, he lay still: But the *Lacedemonians* hearing that he had too small a force to assist their Allies with, ordered *Teleutias* to sail about to him with twelve Ships, that he lay with in the Bay of *Achaia* and the *Lechæum*, to discharge *Ecdicus*, to protect all those who would come in to their Alliance, and to do the Enemy what mischief he could. After *Teleutias* came to *Samos*, he took some Ships from thence, and sailed to *Cnidus*; *Ecdicus* went home: but *Teleutias* went to *Rhodes* with a Fleet of seven and twenty Sail, and in his way thither met with *Philocrates*, Son of *Ephialtes*, going with ten Gallies from *Athens* to *Cyprus*, to the assistance of *Evagoras*, and took them every one.

Here an accident hapned which thwarted both their Designs; for the Athenians being in league with the King, assisted Evagoras his Enemy; and though the Lacedemonians were at war with the King, yet
Teleutias

Teleutias destroyed those that went to fight against him.

Afterwards *Teleutias* returned to *Cnidus*, and sold the Prizes, from whence he went to *Rhodes*, and succoured the *Lacedemonian* party. Upon this the *Athenians* fearing the *Lacedemonians* might recover the Sovereignty of the Sea, sent out *Thrasylbulus* the *Styrensi*an with forty Sail of Ships, who put to Sea, but went not to the relief of *Rhodes*; supposing it would be no easie matter for him to infest the *Lacedemonian* Allies, who had the Garisons to protect them by land, and *Teleutias* ready with his Fleet at Sea: Nor could the Allies be subdued, because they had Garisons were stronger, and had been victorious. Thereupon he sailed to the *Hellepont*, and meeting with no Enemy, thought he could do some signal piece of Service; for being at first inform'd that there was a Rupture between *Amadocus* King of the *Odrysians* and *Seuthes*, Lord of the Seacoast of *Thrace*, he made them Friends, and received them into the Alliance, concluding if these were at amity, that the *Greek Cities* in *Thrace* would adhere more firmly to the *Athenian* interest.

Having settled Affairs in so good a condition,

dition, and being in amity with the *Asiatic* Cities, by reason of the League between the King and the *Athenians*, he went to *Byzantium*, and sold the Customs of those Ships which came from the *Pontus*, and changed the Government of the *Byzantines* from an Aristocracy to a Democracy, so that the *Byzantines* were not at all concern'd to see such numbers of *Athenians* in their City. When he had performed this, and made an Alliance with the *Chalcedonians*, he sail'd out of the *Hellespont*, and finding all the Towns in *Lesbos*, except *Mitylene*, take part with the *Lacedemonians*, he attackt no place till he had first taken four hundred men out of his Fleet at *Mitylene*, and form'd them and the Exiles who had fled thither into a body, and joyn'd them with the stoutest men of the *Mitylenians*: He gave every one of them hopes; To the *Mitylenians*, that if he mastered the rest of *Lesbos*, they should command the whole: To the Exiles, that if they assisted him in the recovery of the particular Towns, they would be in a capacity of being restored to their own Countries again: To the Seamen, that if they could bring *Lesbos* into the Alliance of the *Athenians*, they should greatly enrich themselves thereby.

When

When he had thus encouraged them, he drew them up, and marched with them to *Mithymna*: But *Therimachus* Governor of the place for the *Lacedemonians*, understanding *Thrasybulus* was coming against him, took the Seamen from on board his Ships, together with the *Me-thymnean* and *Mitylenian* Exiles, and met him at the Frontiers where they had an Engagement, in which *Therimachus* was killed, and a great many slain in the pursuit. After this he took some Cities by composition, but foraged the Country about those which held out, and rais'd pay for his Souldiers out of the Spoils: From thence he hastened to *Rhodes*, to levy a strong body of men there, and when he had rais'd Contribution at several places, he went to *Aspendus*, and sail'd up the River *Eurymedon* with his Fleet.

He had formerly received money from the *Aspendians*, and now the Country-men being injured by the Souldiers, they in a rage fell upon the *Athenians* by night, and killed *Thrasybulus* in his Tent, who ended his days in this manner, having had the reputation of being a good man. The *Athenians* chose *Argyrius* to succeed him in the Fleet.

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The *Lacedemonians* receiving intelligence that the *Athenians* had sold the Customs of the *Pontic Ships* at *Byzantium*, that they were possessors of *Chalcedon*, and that the other Cities on the *Hellepont* were in a good condition, because *Pharnabazus* was their Ally; thought it was high time to look about them: And altho' they could object nothing against *Dercyllidas*, yet *Anaxibius* by favour of the *Ephori* procured himself to go Governour of *Abydus*, and undertook, if they would give him a Fleet and pay off his men, to make War with the *Athenians*, after such a rate as should change the face of things in the *Hellepont*. Hereupon they gave him three Gallies, and Pay for a thousand Mercenaries, and dispatched him away: When he arrived he raised more Forces, and wrested some of the *Eolic Towns* from *Pharnabazus*, and whilst he was gone against *Abydus* with his own Army, and the Forces of the other Cities, *Anaxibius* on the contrary fell upon them, and laid waste their Territories: Afterwards he fitted out three Ships more at *Abydus*, besides those he had; and when he took any Ships that belonged either to the *Athenians*, or their Confederates, he carried them in thither.

When

When the *Athenians* received intelligence hereof, they feared he would undo all that *Thrasybulus* had done before in the *Hellepont*; whereupon they sent out *Iphicrates* against him with eight Sail, and 1200 Targetiers, being most of those he commanded at *Corinth*. For the *Argives* having possessed themselves of *Corinth*, declared they had no occasion for them, because *Iphicrates* had put some to death, who favoured their interest; whereupon he return'd home, and lived privately. When he arrived at the *Chersonese*, he and *Anaxibius* sent out Foragers on both sides, and with them they carried on the War one with another. A while after *Iphicrates* hearing that *Anaxibius* was gone to *Antandrus* with the Mercenaries, *Lacedemonians*, and 200 *Abydenian* heavy-arm'd men, and understanding that *Antandrus* had surrendred to him, he guessed that he would put in a Garrison there, and return with the *Abydenians*: Whereupon he passed over in the Night at a place which was freest from the discovery of the *Abydenians*, and when he had possessed himself of the Hills, he placed an Ambush: He commanded also the Gallies which transported him to cruise off the shoar by break of day, that they

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might

might seem to be going to collect Tribute. Nor was he mistaken, for though *Anaxibius* had not an auspicious Sacrifice, yet he departed from *Antandrus*, and despised the Ceremonies; partly because he marched through a Friends Country, and to a City of the Confederates, partly because he understood by those he met, that *Iphicrates* was sailed back to *Præconessus*, and therefore marched more carelessly.

Iphicrates did not rise out of the Ambuscade whilst *Anaxibius's* Army was on even ground, but after the *Abydenians*, which were in the Van, had entred the Plain by *Cremaſtes*, where there were Gold Mines, the rest of the Army went down the Hill, being followed by *Anaxibius* and the *Lacedemonians*: And then *Iphicrates* rising up, gave a furious charge upon *Anaxibius*, who when he saw that there was no hopes of escaping, and that his Army was extended in length and in a strait place, that they could not come up the ascent of the Hill to his assistance, being already past it, and that all were in a Consternation by reason of the Ambuscade; he said to those who were near him, Gentlemen, *Here I must die, but do ye consult your own safety before you engage*

gage with the Enemy. And when he had said so, he took a Shield from his Squire, and fought till he died upon the Spot: His * Page also who staid with him, and the 12 *Lacedemonian* Governours which followed him out of the Town, fell together with him; the rest were slain in the pursuit, of the others near 200 were killed; and of the *Abydenian* heavy-arm'd men 50: *Iphicrates* having performed these Exploits, return'd to the *Chersonese*. * He was called τὰ πύρρην, or ἑρσύνη, and bred up under some great man who was to be an example of virtue to him. So was *Lysander* under *Agésilas*. *Plut.* & *Ubb.* *Em.*

XENOPHON'S History

OF THE

Affairs of Greece.

LIB. V.

THE CONTENTS.

Teleutias *a famous General.* Antalcidas returns from Persia with Articles of Peace, and a Peace is made. Mantinea taken, and the Citizens obliged to live in Villages. The Citadel of Thebes betrayed to the Lacedemonians, and recovered. Teleutias slain at Olynthus. Agesipolis dies. The Lacedemonians Power declines. The Thebans draw the Athenians into the War against the Lacedemonians. Sphodrias impeached for beginning the War, and acquitted.

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This

THis was the state of Affairs betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* in the *Hellespont*: The people of *Ægina* formerly had Commerce, with the *Athenians* till the War broke out; and then *Eteonicus* coming thither with the consent of the *Ephori*, gave Commissions to any that would, to make Depredations in *Attica*. The *Athenians* being in a manner besieged by the *Ægineans*, sent a body of heavy-armed men into *Ægina*, under the Command of *Pamphilus*, and blockt them up with a Wall by Land, and ten Gallies by Sea.

Upon the rumour of this Siege, *Teletias* who was gone to collect Tribute in some of the Islands, came to relieve the *Ægineans*, and chased away the *Athenian* Fleet, though *Pamphilus* still defended his Wall.

About the same time the *Lacedemonians* sent *Hierax* to be Admiral, who took upon him the Command of the Fleet; and *Teletias* parted homewards, having discharged himself with admirable Success in that Imployment: For as he was embarking in order to his return home; he received the Complements of the whole Army, one putting a Garland upon his head,

head, and another a Wreath: They too, who came not time enough, but after he was gone on board, threw their Garlands into the Sea, and wished him a prosperous Voyage.

I confess, I have related nothing here that is very observable concerning his Liberality, Enterprises, or Stratagems, tho' in my opinion the Endearments whereby he gained so much upon the affections of his Souldiers deserved to be considered: For this noble quality challenges a more honourable mention, than either the wealth he was possess'd of, or the Dangers he engag'd in.

Hierax having left twelve Gallies, and *Gorgopas* his Vice-Admiral Governour of *Ægina*, sailed with the rest of the Fleet to *Rhodes*. From this time the *Athenians* in their own Works lookt more like the Besieged, than those in the Town; whereupon a good Fleet was order'd to be fitted out, and to fetch off their Army the fifth Month of the Siege: after which they were again infested by *Gorgopas*, and the Privatiers. Against these they set out thirteen Sail under the Command of *Eunomus*: Whilst *Hierax* was at *Rhodes*, the *Lacedemonians* sent *Antalcidas* to command at Sea, thinking thereby they should highly oblige *Teribazus*. *Antalcidas* when

he arrived at *Ægina*, took *Gorgopas*'s Fleet with him, and sailed to *Ephesus*; sending *Gorgopas* back again to the former place with ten Sail, and gave the Command of the rest to *Nicolochus* his Vice-Admiral, who went from thence with Succors to the *Abydenians*, and directing his Course to *Tenedos*, destroyed the Country, and having raised Contribution sailed to *Abydus*.

The *Athenian* Generals from *Samothracia*, *Thasus*, and the adjacent places, came together to relieve the *Tenedians*; but being certified that *Nicolochus* was gone to *Abydus*, they set out of the *Chersonese* with two and thirty Sail of Ships, and blockt him up with his Fleet of five and twenty.

In the mean while *Gorgopas* parted from *Ephesus*, and meeting with *Eunomus*, the former whereof ran into *Ægina*, a little before Sun-set, and put his men ashore, ordering them to sup. *Eunomus* having made a short stay there, set sail. The night coming on he went a-head of the Fleet, and as the custom is, hung out his Lights, that the Ships a-stern might not mistake their way: Thereupon *Gorgopas* put his men on board immediately, and followed the Lights at a distance, that he might not

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be discovered, nor give notice to the Enemy: the Pilots also used a noise made with Stones, and the strokes of the Oars, instead of the Voice. Whilst *Eunomus* lay with his Fleet under the shoar near *Cape Zoster* in *Attica*; *Gorgopas* commanded the Trumpets to sound, and an Attack to be made: At this time some of *Eunomus*'s men were newly gone ashore, some putting into Harbour, and others still out at Sea: The Fight was by Moon-light, and in it *Gorgopas* took four Sail, which he lashed fast to his own Ships, and towed them to *Ægina*; the rest of the *Athenian* Fleet run into the *Piræus*.

About this time *Chabrias* went to *Cyprus* to the assistance of *Evagoras*, with ten Sail, and eight hundred Targetiers; besides which he took some more Ships and Heavy-arm'd men from *Athens*, and making a descent in the Night upon *Ægina*, placed his Targetiers in Ambuscade in an hollow beyond the Temple of *Hercules*: At Day-break the *Athenian* Heavy-arm'd men led by *Demænetus*, came according to agreement, and marched up about sixteen Furlongs beyond the Temple to the * *Tripurys*. *Gorgopas* having Intelligence hereof, came with the *Ægi- neans*, Sea-men, and the eight *Spartan* Com-

* A place called from its three Towers.

Commissioners, to fight the Enemy ; and commanded Proclamation to be made, That those Seamen who were Freeman, should come to his assistance ; whereupon several getting such Arms as they could light on, joyn'd him : After the Van had passed the Ambush, *Chabrias's* men rose up on a sudden, darting their Lances and throwing their Javelins : By this time the heavy-armed men from on board the Ships were come up , but the advanc'd Guard of the Enemy being not in a close body, were soon cut in pieces, and amongst them *Gorgopas* and the *Lacedemonians* : when these fell, the rest fled, and a hundred and fifty *Ægineans* were slain ; of the Mercenaries, Foreigners and Seamen, that straggled, there were no less than two hundred killed.

From that time the *Athenians* had an undisturbed Navigation as in time of Peace, for the Seamen would not obey *Eteonicus*, nor enter the Enemies Country, though he pressed them, because they were not payd. Thereupon the *Lacedemonians* sent *Teleutias* again to command their Fleet, at whose coming the Seamen were transported with joy ; when he called them together , he made this Speech to them.

I am

I am come hither (Fellow Souldiers) *Teleutias's*
Speech to
his Souldiers.
without money, yet by the favour of Heaven, and your diligence, I'll endeavour to procure you plenty of all Necessaries : For assure your selves, that whilst you are under my command, your welfare is as dear to me as my own life. Perhaps you all wonder at me , for saying, that I had rather you should be provided with Necessaries, than my self: I take Heaven to witness, that I had rather want Bread my self two days, than that you should want it one. My door was formerly open to every one that asked any thing of me, and so it shall be for the future. When you are better stored with Provisions, you shall then see me live more plentifully. If you see me endure cold, heat, and watching: assure your selves, that you must do so too. Nor do I command you these things, as if I delighted to punish you, but that you may make an advantage of them : Take for your example our Republick which is in so flourishing a condition, yet arrived not to this felicity by sloth, but by a voluntary engagement in the fatigue and dangers of War, when ever occasion served. To my knowledge you have heretofore been gallant men, but now strive to approve your selves yet braver, that we may contentedly better relish together the Advantages arising from
our

our labours: For what can be greater satisfaction, than not to be obliged to fawn on any Greek or Barbarian for Pay; but to be able of our selves to procure Necessaries, from whence they may be most honourably obtained? For certainly large Contributions from the Enemy in time of War, not only supply you with Provisions, but gain you Reputation throughout the World.

When he had ended his Speech, the whole Army with a loud Acclamation bid him command them any Service whatsoever, and they would obey: After he had Sacrificed, he spoke to them again.

Come (fellow Souldiers) take the Supper you intended, and one Days Provisions; then go on board forthwith, that we may bend our course whither Heaven directs, and arrive opportunely.

As soon as they were assembled he put them on board, and at Night sailed to the Port of *Athens*, sometimes refreshing the Rowers, and ordering them to repose themselves; other-whiles inspecting them. If any one thinks he did imprudently in attempting a strong Fleet with twelve Ships, let him first consider his Reasons: He thought the *Athenians* were careless of their Fleet, because it lay in Harbour, and

and because *Gorgopas* was slain; and tho' there were Guard-Ships, yet he supposed it less hazardous to attack twenty at *Athens*, than ten elsewhere: For he knew that the Seamen lay on board the Ships which were abroad, but that the Captains lay in their own houses in *Athens*, and the Seamen were dispersed up and down. Upon these reasons he set Sail, and when he came within five or six Furlongs of the Port, he lay still, and refreshed awhile: By break of Day he stood into the Port with the rest of the Fleet, and then he gave Orders to the Ships, that they should neither destroy, nor sink any of the

* Merchant-men, but lash those fast that were laden, and tow them out, to disable any Gallies they saw upon the Guard, to board the biggest Vessels, and to take all the men they could: Accordingly some leaping into the *Digma*, seized the Merchants, and Masters of Ships, and haled them on board.

Whilst *Teleutias* was employed about this Action, those in *Athens* hearing of it, came running out to see what was the occasion of the Alarm; those out of the Town hastned, some to get Arms, and others with the News to the City. All the *Athenians*, both heavy-armed men and

* *σφοδρῶτα*. The Merchant-men were round built, and the Men of War of a longish form. *Sch. Thucyd. ad lib. 2.*

* A place where the Samples of Goods were shewn.

and Horse came with Succours, as if the *Piræus* had been taken. In the mean while *Teleutias* sent his Ships to *Ægina*, and commanded three or four Gallies to be carried thither with them, whilst he with the rest coasted along *Attica*, and when he was got clear of the Port, he took a great many Fisher-boats & Passage-boats full of men, as they came from the *Islands*.

Then coming to *Sunium*, he took several Barges loaden with Corn, and others with Merchandise: After this he went to *Ægina*, and selling the Prizes, he gave every Seaman a Months Pay advance, whereby he kept the Ships well manned, and the men wholly at his devotion. After that he cruised about, and took a great many Prizes.

About this time *Antalcidas* return'd out of *Asia* with *Teribazus*, having prevailed with the King to joyn the *Lacedemonians*, if the *Athenians* and their Confederates would not accept the Peace which he proposed: But when he heard that *Nicolasus* was blockt up at *Abydus* by *Iphicrates* and *Diotimus*, he went thither by Land, and from thence put to Sea with the Fleet at Night, spreading a Report as if the *Chalcedonians* had sent for him, and entering the Harbour at *Percope*, lay still there.

there. * The *Athenian* Admirals having Intelligence of his design, gave him Chase to *Præconnesus*; but *Antalcidas* after they had passed by him, hearing that *Polyxenus* was coming with twenty Sail from the *Syracusians* and *Italians*, returned back again to *Abydus* to joyn him.

About the same time *Thrasybulus Collytensis* set sail with eight Ships from *Thrace*, intending to joyn the rest of the *Athenian* Fleet: but the Scout making his sign to *Antalcidas*, that eight Gallies were coming that way; he caused twelve of the best Sailers to be manned out, commanding them if they had not their Complement to take men out of the rest of the Fleet, and to lie in wait for them as secretly as they could; when they were passed by, he gave them chase: As soon as the *Athenians* saw them, they run; but the Enemies Ships sailing well, soon fetcht upon them being dull ones. Whereupon *Antalcidas* commanded the Van of his Fleet not to attack the sternmost Ships, but to chase those a-head: When they were taken, and the sternmost saw those a-head were seized, they desponded, and were mastered by the Rear of *Antalcidas's* Fleet; and thus all were taken: But after *Antalcidas* had joyned the twenty Sail from

from *Syracuse*, and some others from that part of *Ionia*, which was in the Province of *Teribazus*, and more from the Government of *Ariobarzanes*, with whom he had contracted an Alliance of Hospitality, (it being about the time that the King of *Persia* sent for *Pharnabazus*, and gave him his Daughter in marriage;) he had a Fleet of above eighty sail, wherewith he Lorded it over the Sea, prohibiting the *Pontic* Ships from sailing to *Athens*, whither they were bound, and * obliged them to go into the Ports of the Confederates.

* *ἡ ἀνάγκη*.

The *Athenians* seeing the Enemy had a powerful Fleet, that the King had joyn'd the *Lacedemonians*, and the Capers of *Ægina* blocked them up, feared they should be subdued as they were before, and therefore they earnestly desired a Peace. In like manner, the *Lacedemonians* keeping one Regiment in Garrison at *Lechæum*, and another at *Orchomenus*, to defend the Cities that were faithful from being destroyed, as also to prevent those they suspected from revolting, and having a powerful Diversion at *Corinth*, grew sick of the War. The *Argives* likewise understanding that an Army was to be sent against them, and knowing that their former Pretexes would fail them, became inclinable to a Peace.

Theodotus
Archon.

Peace. Whereupon *Teribazus* summoned those that would comply with the Proposals of Peace sent by the King: when they came together and were assembled, *Teribazus* shew'd them the Kings Seal, and read the Instrument, which run thus:

Artaxerxes King of Persia is of opinion, that The Articles of
he has a just Title to the Asiatic Towns; as Peace brought by
also to the Islands Clazomenæ and Cyprus; That the rest of the Greek Cities Antalcidas
both greater and lesser ought to be free, from the
except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scirus, which King of
anciently belonged to the Athenians, and Persia.
are still to remain in their possession; who * It was
ever will not accept of these Conditions, I afterwards
and the Allies will make War upon them annex to
with all our Forces both by Sea and Land. the main
Strab.

The Ambassadors made their Report hereof to their respective Communities, and at length all obliged themselves by Oath to confirm the Peace; Only the *Thebans* would ratifie it in the Name of the rest of the *Bæotians*: but *Agésilas* refused to accept their Oath, unless they would swear according to the Tenour of the Kings Letters; which was, that the lesser as well as greater Cities should be set free. The *Theban* Ambassadors replied, The Letters were not directed to them: Go then (said *Agésilas*) and consult your

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Masters about it; and tell them moreover, that if they will not accept these Proposals, they shall be excluded the League. After their departure, *Agefilaus* out of hatred to the *Thebans*, lost no time, but moved the *Ephori* against them, and immediately Sacrificed; when having signs of a prosperous Expedition, he marcht to *Tegea*, and from thence sent the Horse to the neighbouring places; as also the Commanders of the Mercenaries to hasten their Conjunction of the Army: But before he moved from *Tegea*, the *Thebans* arrived, and signified that they would restore the Cities to their Liberties. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* returned home, and the *Thebans* were obliged to make Peace, allowing the *Bæotian* Towns their own Laws: Nevertheless the *Corinthians* did not dismiss their Garison of *Argives*; upon which *Agefilaus* threatned the one, that if they did not discharge the *Argives*, and the others, that if they did not quit *Corinth*, he would treat them as Enemies. Both being frightened herewith, the Armies departed the Town, and the City of *Corinth* was restored to its liberty. The Murderers and those that were conscious to themselves that they were concerned in the Massacre, departed, and the rest of the Citizens

Citizens very willingly received those formerly banished. Hereupon the respective Communities swore to observe the Articles of Peace sent by the King; and the Land together with the Naval Forces were disbanded.

This was the first Peace, that was made between the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Allies since the Walls of *Athens* were demolished. And though the *Lacedemonians* did in a manner ballance the power of the Enemies during the War, yet they gained themselves a great deal of Reputation from that called the *Antalcidean Peace*, which the King of *Persia* proposed. For they being *Guarantees* of it, restored the Cities to their Liberty, made *Corinth* their Ally, and, as they formerly desired, freed the *Bæotian* Towns from the Jurisdiction of the *Thebans*. Besides they obliged the *Argives* to quit their Pretensions to *Corinth*, and decreed to send an Army against them, unless they abandoned the Place.

When Affairs succeeded thus according to their desires; they resolved to revenge themselves on those Allies, who, during the War, had inclined more to the Interest of the Enemy than theirs; and for the future to make such Provision, as that

it should not lie in their power to prove false. First, therefore they sent to the *Mantineans*, commanding them to demolish their Walls, and telling them that unless they did, they could not believe but that they favoured their Enemies; adding they had Intelligence, that they sent the *Argives* Provisions, who were at War with them, and that at other times they would not joyn them, but pretended a Truce, and when they did, they did them but ill Service. Moreover they perceived, that they envied their Success, and were much pleased at any misfortune that befel them.

* This Truce was made the XIV year of the Pelopon. War, Thucyd. Lib. V. Dexithous Archon.

Besides the * XXX years Truce made after the Battel of *Mantineia* expired this Year. The *Argives* refused to demolish their Walls, and thereupon an Army was sent against them. *Agefilaus* requested the States to excuse him this Expedition, affirming that the *Mantineans* had done his Father very good Service in the *Messenian* War. Hereupon *Agefipolis* led the Army, though his Father *Pausanias* had a good understanding with the Chief men of *Mantineia*. He entred the Countrey and burnt it, but yet when the *Mantineans* did not demolish their Walls for all this, he drew a Line of Circumvallation

tion about the Town, carrying on the Works with one half of the Army, and defending those that were employed about them with the other. After the Lines were finished, he encompassed the Town about with a Wall, without any loss: but when he understood, that it was well stored with Provisions, the former having been a plentiful Year, thinking 'twould be an hard case to wear out the Army, and Allies with a long Expedition, he dammed up a large River that ran through the Town, and stopping its course, raised it above the Foundations of the Walls, and Houses: Whereupon the lowermost Bricks being moistned, yielded under the uppermost, and the Wall cracking leaned; upon that the *Mantineans* propped it up with Wood, and made a Work to prevent the Tower from falling. But when they saw they were overpowered by the Water, fearing the Wall would drop down quite round, whereby they should easily fall into the Enemy's hands, they consented to demolish it. But the *Lacedemonians* would hearken to no Terms, unless they would consent to live in Villages. The *Mantineans* seeing themselves necessitated yielded to their Conditions. They that favoured

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the *Argives*, and Chief men apprehended, they should suffer death, but *Pausanias* prevailed with his Son *Agefipolis* for sixty of them to depart the Town with safe Conduct. The *Lacedemonians* stood on both sides from the Gates with their Pikes to view them as they marched out, and though they hated the *Mantineans*, yet the Private Soldiers forbore them with much more moderation, than the Officers of the *Mantineans* would have done; which I have mentioned as a testimony of great Obedience to their Commanders.

From this time the Walls were pulled down, and *Mantineia* divided into four Parts, being inhabited as in former times. The People were troubled at first, because they were obliged to pull down their Houses, and build others anew. Yet they became well satisfied with the change, being nearer their Estates, which lay just by the Villages, being governed by an Aristocracy, and delivered from the oppressing Demagogues; so that when the *Lacedemonians* sent an Officer to each Village to raise men, they came into the Service with more readiness, than when they were governed by a Democracy. These were the Transactions at *Mantineia*.
By which others may learn not to draw Rivers

Rivers through the Walls of their Cities.

The *Phliasian* Exiles observing that the *Lacedemonians* took an Account of all the Allies behaviour towards them in the War, and supposing they had now a fair opportunity in their hands, went to *Lacedemon*, and represented, that whilst they enjoyed their Countrey, their City both received the *Lacedemonians*, and followed them in all their Expeditions. But after they were expelled, the rest would serve the *Lacedemonians* in no capacity, they of all men being excluded their City: When the *Ephori* heard this, they thought it a matter worthy their consideration, and sent a Message to the Community of the *Phliasians* to let them know that the Exiles were well affected to the Republick of the *Lacedemonians*, and that they were unjustly banished; as also to desire that they might be restored with their Consent and not by Force. This put the *Phliasians* in a fear, lest some in the Town should let in the *Lacedemonians* if they appeared before it with an Army. Moreover apprehending that there were several of the Exile's Relations in the Town, with others that favoured their Party; and (as in most Republicks) some young

*Olymp. 99.
Diotrephes
Archon.*

men disposed to a change, and for recalling the banished men; they decreed that the Exiles should be readmitted, and such of their Goods restored, as were not sold, and those that were should be made good out of the Publick Treasury; and if any Controversie should arise amongst them, it should be decided by Law. Thus the Affair about the *Phliasian* Exiles was adjusted at that time.

Soon after there came Ambassadors to *Lacedemon* from *Acanthus*, and *Apollonia*, which were the greatest Cities near *Olynthus*. When the *Ephori* understood their Errand, they introduced them to the Assembly, and Confederates, where *Cligenes* the *Acanthian* made this Speech.

Cligenes's
Speech

I suppose (My Lords of Lacedemon, and you the Allies) that there is now a growing Mischief in Greece, of which you have not yet taken notice. Most of you know that Olynthus is the greatest City in Thrace, the Inhabitants whereof have drawn some Towns into their Alliance, upon Terms to enjoy the same Laws, and live in the same Community. They have united some of the more considerable Cities, and attempted to wrest the Macedonian Towns from the Allegiance of Amyntas their King: Upon the coming in of the Neighbouring

bouring Places, they soon proceeded to those more remote, and bigger: Amongst several other Cities we left them possess of Pella, which is far the greatest of any in Macedon. Since, we understand that Amyntas abandons his Towns, and may be said to be only not dispossess of all his Country. The Olynthians sent, to us, and the Apollonians, a threatening Message, how that if we joyned them not, they would turn their Arms upon us. We desire (My Lords) to enjoy our own Laws, and live under our own Government; but if none will assist us, we must of necessity associate. They have no less than eight hundred Heavy-armed men, of Targetiers a greater number, and if we joyn with them, they will make above a thousand Horse. Besides, we left the Athenian, and Boeotian Ambassadors there, and we heard that the Olynthians had decreed to send theirs, to treat of a League Offensive, and Defensive with these Confederate Cities: if therefore the Athenians, and Thebans gain such an Accession of Strength, beware they prove not too many for you. Moreover, seeing they are possessed of Potidæa on the Isthmus of Pallene, it's certain that those Towns which are within it, will fall into their hands. The Consternation those Cities are in may be a sufficient

sufficient Demonstration thereof ; who though they bear an inveterate hatred to the Olynthians , yet durst not send their Ambassadors with us to represent the State of their Affairs. Again , consider with your selves, how can you in probability prevent all Bœotia, from Associating ; when you regard not the Conjunction of a greater force , that gathers strength so fast both by Sea , and Land. What can hinder them ? they have Timber enough in their own Countrey for Shipping. They can't want Money , for they have Customs from their Ports and Towns of Mart, their Plenty also makes them Populous. Besides all this , the Thracians who are their Neighbours , and not under a Kingly Government , do now caress them. And if they be subdued by them, this also will be a formidable addition to their Power ; and if all these Designs succeed, the Gold Mines at Pangæus must of necessity follow. I'll mention nothing now , but what is the common talk of the Town. What need I tell you of their haughty Minds ? their Spirit , and Ambition, who can express ? Perhaps God and Nature have so contrived man, that as our Fortune , so our aspiring Humor should also rise. We (My Lords) have faithfully represented to you
the

the State of Affairs , and now 'tis your part to consider whether they be worthy your regard or not. This I must not forget to tell you too, that their Power indeed is great , yet it is not so formidable as you need fear to grapple with. The Towns which were forc't into the Confederacy , when they see a Power on foot will soon fly off again. But if once they be linkt together with inter-marriages , and Commerce (which they have made a Law to encourage) and shall apprehend how advantageous it is to follow the Victor (as the Arcadians, who whilst they sided with you, both saved themselves, and plundered others) perhaps it will be no easie matter to dissolve their Union.

After this Speech , the *Lacedemonians* Phanostratus Archon. gave the Confederates leave to speak, exhorting every one of them to offer what they thought would be most adviseable in this Conjunction for the *Peloponnesians*, and Allies. Thereupon several proposed a War, especially those that would ingratiate with the *Lacedemonians* : so it was resolved to send to the respective Cities a list of ten thousand men to be raised. 'Twas debated too , that those Towns , which would contribute Money instead of men might ; provided they paid three *Æ*-6 d. ¹/₄ ginean

155. 7 d.
ob.

ginean Oboli for each man, and that if any set out Horse, each Trooper should have the pay of four Heavy-armed men. Moreover if any of the Towns declined the Service, it should be lawful for the *Lacedemonians* to mulct them one *Stater* a day for every man.

After they had thus resolved, the *Acathians* rose up again; and shewed that these were good Decrees, yet could not be quickly put in Execution. Declaring it would be better whilst these Levies were making, that a General, and what Forces could be raised on a suddain in *Lacedemon*, and other Places should march forthwith; for hereby those Cities which were not yet associated would remain firm, and such as were forced into the Alliance, would be colder in their Assistance. This being agreed on, the *Lacedemonians* sent out about two thousand of the Half-Slaves, Neighbouring People, and *Sciritæ*. *Eudamidas*, when he began his march, entreated the *Ephori*, that his Brother *Phæbidas* should assemble the Forces he had raised, but left behind, and follow him.

When he arrived in *Thrace*, he sent Garisons to those Towns which desired them, and took *Potidæa* one of the Associated Towns upon surrender. This place

A Band of
chosen
men which
fought by
the King,
Wind. Sic.
b. XV.

place he made the Seat of War, and managed it as well as could be expected from the small force he had. In the mean while *Phæbidas* assembling the Forces that *Eudamidas* left behind, marched with them; and when he arrived at *Thebes*, he encamped without the City by the Artillery ground. At that time *Ismenias* and *Leontiades* being chief * Magistrates, there were Divisions among the people, they bearing one another a mutual hatred, and being the leading men of their Factions; *Ismenias* out of spite to the *Lacedemonians*, would not go near *Phæbidas*; on the other hand, *Leontiades* caressed him, and becoming familiar, dis-
count him thus:

* Πολι-
μας ὄν-
There
were two
of them.

This very day, Phæbidas, it lies in your power to do your Country a signal piece of Service; for if you will follow me with your Heavy-armed men, I will bring you into the Citadel; and when this is done, assure your self Thebes will be wholly at the Devotion of the Lacedemonians, and us your Friends: You see it has been decreed, that no Theban should follow you to the Olynthian Wars; but if you will joyn with us in this Design, we will send a strong Supply of Heavy-armed men and Horse, that you may hereby re-inforce your Brother with

with a very considerable body of men; and whilst he is reducing Olynthus, you may possess your selves of Thebes, which is far the greater City.

When *Phæbidas* heard this, he was hugely transported, for he loved the performance of a noble Enterprize more than life it self, though he never had the Reputation of a prudent and thinking man. After it was concluded on, *Leontiades* bid him march forward, as though he was preparing for his Voyage; and when it is time, said he, I will come and Conduct you my self. The Senate was sitting at that time in the Porch of the Market-place, because the Women kept the Feast of *Ceres* in the Citadel, and the Streets were thin (it being Summer-time, and the heat of the day) when *Leontiades* rode after *Phæbidas*, and calling him back, led him directly to the Citadel, where having posted *Phæbidas* and his men, he delivered him the Keys of the Gates, advising him to let none enter without his Order. From thence he went strait to the Senate, and being come thither, spake thus:

My Lords, Be not disheartned, though the Lacedemonians are possess of the Citadel; for they declare they come not to any in an hostile manner, but such as love ho-
stility.

stility. I seize this Ismenias for levying of War pursuant to the Law, which authorizes the chief Magistrate to apprehend any person suspected of Treason: Ie Captains, and those under your Command, rise, take him and commit him to safe Custody.

They that were privy to the Design drawing near, obey'd, and laid hold on *Ismenias*, the others that knew nothing of the matter, and were Enemies to *Leontiades's* Faction, immediately left the Town, fearing they should be put to death, the rest having retired home before. After they understood that *Ismenias* was committed to the Tower, those that were of his and *Androclides's* Faction, being about four hundred, fled to *Athens*. Upon this they chose another chief Magistrate instead of *Ismenias*. *Leontiades* went immediately to *Lacedemon*, where he found the *Ephori*, and people much offended at *Phæbidas* for having acted without Orders. In whose defence *Agefilaus* pleaded, that if he had done any thing in prejudice of the State, he ought to be punished; but if good Service, he by their ancient Laws might do such things without Commission: You ought therefore, said he, to consider, whether, what he has done be for your Interest, or not. When
Leontiades's

Leontiades came to the General Assembly, he made this Speech.

Leonti-
des's
Speech.

My Lords of Lacedemon, You your selves confess, that the Thebans were disposed to a War before these Transactions; you perceived too, that they always favoured your Enemies and hated your Friends: They would not assist you against the people in the Piræus that made so fierce opposition against you; yet they made War upon the Phœceans, only because they were well affected towards you: Nay when they understood that you employed your Arms against the Olynthians, they made an Alliance with them, and you continually expected to hear that they had reduced Bœotia. Now since Affairs stand thus, you need not have any apprehensions of the Thebans; one short private Letter will be sufficient to render every thing there agreeable to your desires, Provided you will as cordially espouse our Interest as we do yours.

When the Lacedemonians heard this, they decreed that as the Citadel had been surprized, so it should be kept; and that *Ismenias* should be brought to his Tryal. Soon after they sent three Judges of the Lacedemonians, and of the Confederates one from each City both small and great.

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The Judges being sat, *Ismenias* was indicted for holding Correspondence with the Barbarians, and for contracting a Friendship with the Persian, which was out of no good design to Greece; and for sharing of the Money sent by the King, and for being together with *Androclides* the chief Fomentor of all the Troubles in Greece. To all this he pleaded, yet could not clear himself from being thought an Enterprizer of great Designs, and those not very good ones; so he was condemned and executed. Hereupon *Leontiades's* Party being possessed of the City, were more observant of the Lacedemonians, than was expected from them.

After this the Lacedemonians pursued the War against the Olynthians more vigorously, and sent *Teleutias* General, issuing out Orders for the raising an Army of ten thousand men, and directed their Letters to the Confederate Towns, commanding them to follow *Teleutias* in the Expedition pursuant to the Decree of the Allies. Wherefore amongst others that freely offered their Service to him, (being a person no ways ungrateful to those that serv'd under him) the City of Thebes sent him, being the Brother of *Agefilaus* both Heavy-arm'd men and Horse.

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He made no extraordinary hast, but took all possible care that the Army might do their Friends no harm in their march; and to raise as great Forces as he possibly could, he also dispatched a Message before to *Amyntas*, requiring him to hire some Mercenaries, and distribute money amongst the Kings his Neighbours, if so be he had any thoughts of recovering his Kingdom. Besides he sent to *Derdas* Prince of *Elimeia*, to let him know that the *Olynthians* had already subdued the greater Monarchy, which was that of *Macedone*; nor would they forbear a lesser, unless their Insolence were checkt.

When he had dispatcht these Affairs, and drawn a very powerful Army together, he marched to the Frontiers of the Confederates, and arriving at *Potidæa*, made a general Muster, and entred the Enemies Country. But when he advanced towards *Olynthus*, he neither burned nor destroyed any thing, supposing if he took any such course, it would hinder him both in his March and Retreat; yet it would do well to cut down the Trees when he retired from the Walls of the City, and thereby divert the Enemy from falling on his Rear. As soon as he came within less than ten Furlongs of the City, he

he halted, leading the left Wing himself; the other Body of the Confederates being placed in the right: For so it hapned, that he marched towards the Gate, at which the Enemy went out. The *Lacedemonian*, and *Theban* Horse together with the *Macedonians*, he placed in the right, keeping *Derdas* with his four hundred Horse near him: partly because he admired these Troops, and partly to shew respect to *Derdas*, thereby to oblige him the more to the Service.

Afterwards the Enemy sallying out of the Town, drew up under the Walls, and marshalling their Horse in a close Body, charged the *Lacedemonians* and *Bæotians*, and beating *Polycharmus* General of the *Lacedemonian* Cavalry of his Horse, gave him a great many wounds as he lay on the ground, and killed some others. At last the Horse in the right were routed, and they flying the Foot that were next them gave ground, so that the whole Army was in danger of being defeated, had not *Derdas* advanced with his Horse to the Gates of the City, and *Teletias* seconded him with his Troops in good order: which when the *Olynthian* Cavalry perceived, they faced about, and retreated with great diligence, fearing they should be cut off from the Gates.

Derdas killed a great many of their Horse as they passed by him, but the Infantry being near the Walls, retired back into the Town without much loss.

Teleutias having obtained this Advantage, erected a Trophy, cut down the Trees, and retreated, disbanding the *Macedonian* Troops, and those of *Derdas* at the end of the Campaign. Nevertheless the *Olynthians* making several Incursions into the Territories of the *Lacedemonian* Confederates, ravaged the Country, and killed the Inhabitants.

*Menas der
Archon.*

Early in the Spring near six hundred of the *Olynthian* Horse over-ran the Country about *Apollonia* at Mid-day, and foraged in small Parties. The same day *Derdas* arrived with his Cavalry, and Dined there. When he saw the Inroad he lay still, having the Horses in readiness and their Riders armed: But the *Olynthians* advancing to the Suburbs and Gates of the Town in contempt of him; he went out against them with a body of men: As soon as they discovered him, they fell to flight, and he having put them once to the rout, gave not over pursuing and slaying for ninety Furlongs together, and followed them up to the Walls of *Olynthus*. 'Twas reported, that *Derdas* killed eighty of their Cavalry in this Action:

Action; and from this time the Enemy kept themselves within their Walls, tilling but little ground.

Some time after *Teleutias* moved to the Walls of *Olynthus*, destroying every Tree, and all the ground that was tilled. On the contrary, the *Olynthian* Horse going out and marching gently, passed the River that ran by the Town, and advanced slowly towards the Enemy. *Teleutias* seeing them, was provoked by their boldness, and ordered *Tlemonidas*, who commanded the Targetiers, instantly to charge them with full speed: When the *Olynthians* discovered them running before the rest of the Army, they faced about, and making a gentle Retreat repassed the River. The *Lacedemonians* followed them very boldly, and as they retreated, the others pursued, and passed the River, after them. The *Olynthian* Horse thinking they could master those that were already come over, faced about, and charged them, killing *Tlemonides*, with above a hundred more: When *Teleutias* saw it, he was enraged, and taking up his Arms again, he instantly drew out the Heavy-arm'd men, and commanded the Targetiers and Horse to pursue without any intermission. Hereby it hapned, that

that as several indiscreetly followed the Enemy too near the Wall, they came short home; for they being shot at from the Turrets, were forced to retire in disorder, and defend themselves from the Arrows. The *Olynthians* being supported with a body of Targetiers charged with their Horse; and at length the Heavy-arm'd men run out, and attacked the disordered Troops of the Enemy. In this Skirmish, *Teletias* died fighting; which when those near him saw, they gave ground; nor did the rest stand any longer, but were totally routed; some flying to *Spartolus*, others to *Acanthus*, some to *Apollonia*, and most of them to *Potidea*. Thus as they fled several ways disorderly; so the Enemy pursuing them in small bodies, killed abundance, and those too the flower of that great Army.

From these Accidents men may learn this general Instruction; Not to correct Servants in their passion: for sometimes they have suffered more themselves in their Commotions, than what they have inflicted upon others. And to attack an Enemy rather in a rage, than upon mature deliberation, is the most unpardonable fault in the World. Passion is inconsiderate, but Reason is no less circumspect to secure it self, than to annoy an Enemy.

When

When the *Lacedemonians* received News of this Disaster, they resolved to send a considerable Force to take down the Pride of the Victors, and not to make a fruitless Expedition as the former was. They made a Decree, and sent King *Agessipolis* to be their General, with thirty Commissioners, as they had done before to *Agessilaus*, when he marcht into *Asia*. Many of the Neighbouring people who were valiant men, went Volunteers, and several of the Mercenaries that were bred in the Service, as also the Natural Sons of the *Spartans* that were comely men, and had been educated in the *Spartan* Discipline; several Volunteers too went out of the Confederate Towns; amongst which were some *Thessalian* Horse, who had a desire to signalize themselves before *Agessipolis*: *Amyntas* and *Derdas* likewise pursued the War now more vigorously than formerly: At that time *Agessipolis* having got his Army together marched to *Olynthus*.

In the mean while the *Phliasian* Republick having been commended by *Agessipolis* for contributing so largely, and readily to the carrying on of the War; and supposing, that whilst he was abroad, *Agessilaus* would not come against them;

V 4

nor

Demophilus
Archon.

Tedes-
mot, so
T. ὁ ποιῶν,
ὁ ἄβυστος,
for studi-
ous men. &
Præm. ad
Ex. de leg.
Hist. Byz.

nor that both Kings would leave *Sparta* at the same time; treated the recalled Exiles very rudely, and contrary to all justice: For the banished men prayed that their Cases might be heard at an indifferent Tribunal: but they compelled the Exiles to try them in their own City, and though they pleaded that no justice could be expected there, where the same were Judges and Parties too; yet for all this they had no hearing.

After that the recalled Exiles being accompanied with several others from home, went to *Lacedemon*, and accused their Republick; alledging that many of their Citizens had not justice done them. The *Phliafian* Government provoked by this, fined all those that went thither without a Deputation from the City: and they who were fined remained there, fearing to return home; and declared that things were arbitrarily carried on by those who banished them, and expelled the *Lacedemonians*; that they had bought up the Exiles Goods, and forcibly detain'd them, having procured that they should be fined for coming to *Lacedemon*, that so none for the future should dare to go thither and discover what was done in the City.

The *Ephori* plainly apprehending by this

this, that the *Phliafians* would grow insolent, decreed to send an Army against them; and *Agefilaus* was glad of this opportunity. For *Podanemus* and his relations the guests of his Father *Archidamus*, were some of the Recalled, as also was *Procles*, *the Guest of *Agefilaus*. As soon as the Preparatory Ceremonies for the Expedition were over, he made no delay, but began his march: several Ambassadors met him, and brought him Money, that he might not enter their Countries; to whom he gave this answer, That he intended to oppress none in this his Expedition, but to relieve the oppressed. At last they submitted to his Terms, and entreated him not to enter their Territories. He replied, That he could not give Credit to their words, because they had broke their Faith before; therefore they ought now to convince him by their Deeds: Being asked what these should be: He told them, If you'll do that, which if you had done before, all this trouble might have been prevented; that was to deliver up their Citadel; which when they refused, he marched into their Country, and forthwith invested their City: Yet because the *Lacedemonians* talkt that above five thousand men would be rendered

Olymp. 100.
Pytheus
Archon.

* Son of
Hippodamus.

Private Banquets were forbidden by *Lycurgus*, thereby to prevent luxury, every one that came to this publick place brought his own Commons with him.

Agefipolis dies.

dred disaffected to their Republick for the sake of a few; (the *Phliasians* having openly discourf'd it in the Camp to make it the more be taken notice of) *Agefilaus* obviated their Design. For when any of the Relations, and Friends of the Exiles came out of the Town, he advised his men to carry them to the Publick * eating places, and to supply as many as would exercise with fufficient Neceffaries, commanding them to furnish all with Arms, and not scruple to take up money upon credit for this. They obey'd his Orders, and fet out above a thousand able men extraordinary well difciplined and appointed, that at laft the *Lacedemonians* confefst they wanted fuch Auxiliaries. Whilft *Agefilaus* was taken up about this Action, *Agefipolis* came directly out of *Macedone*, and appeared with his Army before the Walls of *Olynthus*, but meeting with no Oppofition, he ravaged all the Country about it, and falling upon their confederate Cities, burnt all the Corn, and took *Torone* by ftorm. Being thus employed in the height of Summer, he was feized with a Calenture; and having feen *Bacchus's* Temple at *Aphytos*, he longed for the fhady Grove, as alfo the Cryftal, and cool waters there; whither

whither he was carried alive, and died the Seven-night after he was firft taken ill, without the Consecrated * ground. He was Embalmed in Honey, and from thence carried home, where he had the Funeral Solemnities of a *Spartan* King. When *Agefilaus* heard it, he was not pleafed (as one would imagine) with the removal of a Rival, but fhed tears for the lofs of his Converfation: Becaufe both the Kings, when they are at home, have the fame Apartment together; and *Agefipolis* was able to entertain him with Difcourfes pleafing to young men; as of Dogs, Horfes, and Love Intrigues, having a fecret awe and Reverence for him, as being the more experienc'd man.

In his ftead the *Lacedemonians* fent *Polybiades* to go General againft the *Olynthians*. *Agefilaus* had fpent more time already in the Siege of *Phlius*, than it was faid to be Victualled for: But fo great difference there is betwixt Regulation, and the Gut, that the *Phliasians* decreeing to come to half their former Allowance, and putting that Decree in execution, they held out twice as long again, as 'twas thought they could have done: And fuch an Afcendant has Daringnefs over poor fpirited men, that one *Delphio* a gallant fort of

* iegu.

Nicon Archon.

of man, taking only a Guard of three hundred, prevented those that were inclined to a Peace, from making one, and committed them he was suspicious of to safe Custody, obliging the people to Duty, and kept them firm in their obedience, by going the Rounds. Several times he sallied with his Guards, and beat the Enemy from their Posts on the Lines; till at length they could find no Provision in the Town, though they searched for it; and then they desired *Agefilas* to give their Ambassadors Pass-ports for *Lacedemon*, acquainting him withal that the City had decreed to surrender to the *Lacedemonian* Magistrates upon discretion. *Agefilas* being offended because they had passed him by, sent to his Friends at home, & procured the affair of *Phlius* to be wholly remitted to him: Yet he gave safe Conduct to the Deputies, and pressed those in the Town harder than before, so that none could get out, except *Delphio*, and a Slave that had taken a great many Arms from the Besiegers, who made their escape by Night. When the Orders came from *Lacedemon*, how that the Republick referred the whole to *Agefilas* to determine according to his own discretion, he made this Determination: That fifty of the

the recalled Exiles, and as many of the other Citizens should be chosen to decide who ought to be pardoned, and who put to death, to make Laws by which they should govern; and till these things were settled, he left a Garrison with six Months Pay. After this, he disbanded the Confederates, and marched with his own Troops home: And thus the *Phliasian* War was concluded in a Year and eight Months.

About this time *Polybiades* obliged the *Olynthians* to send to *Lacedemon* for Peace, they being reduced to great extremity by Famine, for that they could neither get in Provisions by Land, nor import them by Sea. Thither their Plenipotentiaries went, and made a Peace upon these Articles; That they should come into the Alliance; that they should make a League Offensive, and Defensive, and serve the *Lacedemonians* in all their Wars: after the Articles were signed, they returned home.

The *Lacedemonians* seeing their Affairs in so flourishing Condition, thought their Empire was well and firmly established on all sides; for the *Thebans*, and the rest of the *Bæotians* were wholly reduced, the *Corinthians* made their faithful Allies, the *Argives* humbled, and put by their

The Lacedemonian Empire declines.

their old Pretences; the *Athenians* deserted by all, and the disaffected Confederates mulcted. *Many other Examples might be brought both from the Greeks and Barbarians, to prove that the Gods are not unmindful of wickedness and injustice; yet I shall only make use of this Passage that falls within the compass of my History.* The *Lacedemonians* who had sworn to leave the States to be governed by their own Laws, yet reserving to themselves the Citadel of *Thebes*, were punished by those only whom they had injured, having till this time kept the Reputation of *Invincible*: So that seven only of the Exiles were enough to ruine those that delivered up the Citadel to the *Lacedemonians*, intending thereby to enslave the City, that they themselves might Lord it over the rest: I will relate the particulars how it hapned.

Naufonius Archon.

There was one *Phyllidas* Secretary to *Archias* his Colleagues, the chief Magistrate, a man thought capable to manage Business of the highest Concern; who coming to *Athens* about some Occasions, fell into company with *Mello* an old Acquaintance of his, and one of the Exiles there; and enquiring how *Archias* the chief Magistrate and *Philip* behaved themselves

themselves in their tyranny, he found him more dissatisfied with Affairs at home than himself. Whereupon they made a mutual Engagement, and agreed how all things should be managed: Upon this *Mello* taking seven of the fittest men amongst the Exiles without any Arms but their Swords, went with them into the Country near *Thebes*, and tarrying a day in a lonesom place, came to the Gates of the City at Night, pretending that they returned out of the Fields from their work: They were let into the Town, and lodged that Night and the day following at one *Charon's* house. In the mean while *Phyllidas* procured the chief Magistrates all things necessary for the solemnizing the Feast of *Venus* at the laying down of their Office, promising according to a former Engagement, to procure them Women of the greatest Quality, and the most celebrated Beauties in *Thebes*.

They being such kind of Blades, expected to divert themselves very pleasantly that Night: After Supper, when *Phyllidas* had warm'd them pretty well with Wine, they ordered him to bring in the Muses; accordingly he went out, and fetched in *Mello*, and his Companions,

ons, dressing three of them like Ladies, and the rest like their Women, and carried them into the Treasury. Then he went in, and acquainted *Archias* and his Company, that the women refused to enter, whilst any of their Attendants remained in the Room: Thereupon they commanded all instantly to withdraw; *Phyllidas* gave them Wine, and conveyed them into one of the Officers houses. Then he introduced the Misses, and placed them each by their Gallants; the sign being, that as soon as they were seated, and they began to ruffle them, they should stab them. Some report they were killed after this manner; others report, that *Mello* and his Complices coming in where they were at a Feast, dispatched them.

After this, *Phyllidas* taking three of his Companions, went to *Leontiades's* house, and knockt at the Door, saying, he had a Message to him from the chief Magistrate. *Leontiades* was laid down after Supper to repose himself, and his Wife sat by him Spinning: he supposing *Phyllidas* to be an honest man, bid him and his Company come in; they entring, killed him, frightened her, and commanding her to be silent, ordered the Doors to be shut, threatening if they found them open,

to

to kill every one in the house. When *Phyllidas* had done this, he took two of the men and went to the Prison, telling the Goaler that he brought one from the chief Magistrate to be taken into Custody. As soon as he opened the Doors, they killed him immediately, and turning all the Prisoners loose, gave them the Arms they took out of the *Portico*, and leading them up to the *Ampheum*, they commanded them to stand. Soon after they made Proclamation by a Cryer, That all the Horse and heavy-armed men should appear in Arms, because the Tyrants were slain; but the Citizens giving no credit to it that Night, remained quiet; yet being certified of it in the Morning, the heavy-arm'd men and Horse came out with their Arms immediately.

The Exiles that return'd from banishment sent the Horse to the two *Arbenian* Generals on the Frontiers, who understood the business they came for. The Governour in the Citadel hearing of the Proclamation made the Night before, sent immediately to *Plataea*, and *Thespieæ* for assistance: but the *Theban* Horse receiving Intelligence that the *Plataeans* were upon their march, went out to meet them, and killed twenty. After this action, when

they

The Citadel of *Thespieæ* retaken

they returned to *Thebes*, and the *Athenians* arrived from the Frontiers, they attacked the Citadel. They in the Place knowing themselves to be weak, and seeing the courage of the Assailants, there being Proclamation made of great Rewards for those that mounted the Wall first, were terrified, and offered to quit the Place, if they might depart with their Arms upon safe Conduct. The *Thebans* willingly granted them their Conditions, and confirming the Articles by Oath, they let them go; yet they killed such of their Enemies as they found amongst them, though the *Athenians* who came in to the Assistance of the Conspirators from the Frontiers concealed some: nay, the *Thebans* took even the children of such as had any, and cruelly put them to death.

The *Lacedemonians* having Intelligence of this, put the Governour that surrendered the Citadel to death, for not holding out till Succors came, and decreed to send an Army against the *Thebans*. But *Agésilauus* pleading that he was forty years above man's Estate, proved that as others of that Age were not obliged to go to any Foreign War, so there was the same Law for a King, and by this he excused himself from the Service.

vice. Yet this was not the reason why he staid at home, but because he knew very well, that if he undertook that Expedition, the People would say, he had involved the State in a War, that he might give the Tyrants assistance. So he let them take their own measures.

The *Ephori* upon Advice of those that were banished after the Massacre at *Thebes*, sent out *Cleombrotus* in a very sharp Winter, that being the first time he was General. He took his march by the way of *Platææ*, because *Chabrius* kept the Pass by *Elentheræ* with the *Athenian* Targetiers. These Targetiers advancing before the rest, met with those that were let out of Prison, on a Hill, being about an hundred and fifty, and cut them all in pieces, except some few that might escape by chance. From that Place *Cleombrotus* passed on to *Platææ*, a Town at this time in Amity with the *Lacedemonians*. Afterwards he marched to *Thespiæ*, and moving from thence to *Cynocephalæ*, a Town belonging to the *Thebans*, he encamped there, where he staid sixteen days, and then returned back to *Thespiæ*, leaving *Sphodrias* there with the third part of the Confederates, and gave him what Money he had brought with him from home, ordering him

him to raise some Mercenaries.

Whilst *Sphodrias* was about this, *Cleombrotus* returned home with his Forces the way that leads through *Creusis*, being uncertain whether they should have War or Peace with the *Thebans*, yet though he led his Army through their Country, he departed without doing much Mischief. In his Retreat there hap'ned an unlucky Wind, which some divined did prognosticate that which was to come. For amongst several other effects of its violence, at that time when *Cleombrotus* marched with the Army out of *Creusis*, over the Mountains that reach to the Sea, it bore several Asses with their Packs down the precipice, and carried many Arms into the Sea: so that several being not able to march with their Arms, left them up and down on the top of the Mountains, inverting their Shields, and filling them with Stones. That Night they supped on what they could get at *Ægosthena*, a Town in the Countrey of *Megara*. The Day following they went, and fetched their Arms: and *Cleombrotus* disbanded them, all departing home.

The *Athenians* taking into consideration, that the *Lacedemonians* had a Formidable Power, that they had passed by *At-*
tica

Callias
Archon.

tica to attack *Thebes*, and that the *Corinthian* War was ended; tried two of those Captains, which conspired with *Millo* against *Leontiades* Party, one whereof they executed, and the other they banished, because he fled from Justice. The *Thebans* also fearing lest they should be left alone in the War against the *Lacedemonians*, found out this contrivance. They (as 'tis thought) corrupted *Spodrias* Governour of *Thespiæ* to enter *Attica*, and engage the *Athenians* in a War with the *Lacedemonians*. He hearkned to them, and undertook to surprize the *Piræus*, which was yet without Gates. In order thereto, he refreshed his men, and marched out of *Thespiæ* very early, giving out that he would reach the *Piræus* by Day, though it was Day when he arrived at *Thria*: so that he could not conceal his Design from being discovered. Therefore in his return he drove away the Cattle, and plundered the Houses. Some that met him came flying by Night to the City, and informed the *Athenians* that a great Army was entred their Countrey; whereupon the Heavy-armed men and Horse that were upon the Guard, armed. At that time the * *Lacedemonian* * Etymo-
Ambassadors at *Athens* were entertained *cles, Aristolochus, Ocellus.*
by *lus.*

by *Callias* their Publick Host, but when this News came, the *Athenians* seized them, and committed them to safe Custody, suspecting them to be concerned in this Conspiracy. The Ambassadors being amazed at it, made their Defence, saying, they would ne'r have been such Fools, if they had known the *Piræus* was to have been seized, as to have remained in the City under their Power, nor with a Publick Host, where they might so easily be found out, adding that it would appear the *Lacedemonians* themselves knew nothing of it, and that they would soon hear that the Republick would punish *Sphodrias*. Thus they having purged themselves, were discharged.

The *Ephori* recalling *Sphodrias*, impeached him of High Treason, and he being frightened, made no appearance, yet was acquitted. Many thought these Proceedings of the *Lacedemonians* were unjust. The reason hereof was this; *Sphodrias* had a Son named *Cleonymus*, newly come to man's Estate, being the most beautiful and renowned of his Equals, whom *Archidamus* *Agefilaus's* Son intirely loved. *Cleombrotus's* Friends being very intimate with *Sphodrias*, were inclined to acquit him, but because he had committed

committed so hainous a crime, they feared as well *Agefilaus* and his Party, as those that were indifferent. A while after *Sphodrias* said to *Cleonymus*, Son you may save your Father's Life, by intreating *Archidamus* to prevail with his Father, to be favourable to me in my Trial. He hearing him say so, put on confidence, and going to *Archidamus* begged of him to bring his Father off. *Archidamus* seeing *Cleonymus* weep, wept too, and after he had heard his Petition, said to him, you know *Cleonymus*, I am not able to look my Father in the face, but when I would carry any thing in the City, I make use rather of any than him. Yet since you command me, assure your self, I'll use my utmost endeavour to serve you herein.

After that *Archidamus* went home from the Publick Eating-place, and reposed himself; in the Morning as soon as he was up, he took care to observe his Father's walking abroad, and when he saw him go forth, if there were any of the *Spartans* by, he let them discourse with his Father, and if there were any Strangers or Servants that desired to make their Addresses, he gave way for them too.

At length as *Agefilaus* was returning home from the *Eurotas*, *Archidamus* went away, and came not near his Father, and

The River
on which
Sparta
stands.

the next day he did so again. *Agefilaus* suspecting for what he went after him so, askt him no Questions, but let him go his way. In the mean time *Archidamus*, you may be sure, had a great desire to see *Cleonymus*, but to go to him before he had discoursed his Father, he could not. Then *Sphodrias's* Friends seeing *Archidamus* did not come to his House, so often as he was wont, were at their Wits end, lest *Agefilaus* should have given him a rebuff. At last *Archidamus* ventured to go, and thus accosted him. Father! *Cleonymus* desired of me to beg of you, that you would save his Fathers Life, and I make it my request that it may be granted. *Agefilaus* answered him, I forgive you, but I don't see how I shall get my own pardon from the Republick, for not condemning one that has taken Bribes to the prejudice of his Countrey. At that time he replied nothing again, being convinced by the Justice of what his Father said, but went his way. Yet afterwards, whether he took notice of it by his own motion, or that it was hinted to him by some body else, he went to him, and said Father! I know that if *Sphodrias* had not offended, you would have acquitted him for Innocencie's sake, and if he has, pardon him for mine. *Agefilaus* made him this

Answer,

Answer, if it be consistent with my Honor, it shall be so; which when he heard, he went away with small hopes.

About that time one of *Sphodrias's* Friends discoursing with *Etymocles*, said, I believe all you that are of *Agefilaus's* Party will be for putting *Sphodrias* to death. *Etymocles* replied, why should we not follow *Agefilaus's* Opinion, seeing he tells every one he discourses about it, that it is impossible to bring him off. Yet it would be hard for him to be put to death in the Flower of his Age, who has behaved himself so well, when a Child, a Youth, and a Man grown: for *Sparta* wants such Soldiers. He hearing this, told it *Cleonymus*, who being pleased therewith went directly to *Archidamus*, saying, Now, I know you have a respect for me, and I would have you rest satisfied, that my endéavours shall be, so as your love mayn't be misplaced. Nor was he deceived in him, for he behaved himself honourably in his Countrey, as long as he lived, and fought at *Leuctra* under General *Dino*, before the King, where charging in the formost of the Battel he fell in the midst of the Enemy, greatly afflicting *Archidamus*. Nor was he, according to his Promise, a Dishonour, but a Credit to him.

After

After this manner *Sphodrias* got off: whereupon the *Athenians* that favoured the Interest of the *Bæotian* Faction, possessed the People, that the *Lacedemonians* were so far from punishing *Sphodrias*, that they commended him for plotting against *Athens*. Upon that the *Athenians* immediately after, made Gates to the *Piræus*, built Ships, and vigorously assisted the *Bæotians*. The *Lacedemonians* decreed that an Army should be sent against the *Thebans*, and desired *Agefilas* to take the Command of it, esteeming him one of better Conduct than *Cleombrotus*. He told them, that he would comply with the pleasure of the State, what ever it was; and so prepared for his march. But when he understood that it would be no easie matter to enter the *Thebans* Countrey, unless he was first possesst of *Cithæron*, and being advertised that the *Cleto-rians* were at War with the *Orchomenians*, and had entertained Mercenary Troops in their Service, he treated with them to lend him those Forces, in case he had occasion for them. After he had obtained an auspicious Sacrifice for his Expedition, he sent, before he arrived with his Army at *Tegea*, to the General of the Mercenaries, that served under the *Cleto-rians*, and gave

gave them a Months pay, commanding them to go, and possess themselves of *Cithæron*, and ordered the *Orchomenians* to forbear Hostilities, threatening also, that if any City should make War during the time of this Expedition, he would pursuant to the Decree of the Confederates, fall immediately upon them.

After he had passed *Cithæron*, he arrived at *Thespiæ*; and parting from thence with his Army, he marched into the *Thebans* Countrey, and finding the Plain and best Parts of it entrenched, and fortified with Palisadoes, he encamped in several Places, and after Dinner sent out Parties to burn, and destroy the Countrey, that lay before his Works. For wheresoever *Agefilas* marched, the Enemy appeared upon the Defensive Part within their Trenches. But when he returned to his Camp, the *Theban* Horse lying under a Covert, sallied out of the Avenues, about the time the Targetiers were getting their Supper ready, and preparing for it, the Horse being partly mounted and dismounted. They charged, and killed *Cleo* and *Epilytidas*, two *Spartan* Horsemen, as also *Eudicus* one of the Neighbourhood of *Sparta*, with some of the *Athenian* Exiles that had not yet mounted.

mounted. But when *Agefilaus* faced about, and came to their Assistance with the Heavy-armed men and Horse, supported by those that were ten years above man's estate, and charged them full speed: The *Theban* Horse shew themselves to be meer Slugs, standing their Ground only till the Cavalry advanced, and threw their Lances, but reached them not; for as soon as they did, they gave back, and lost twelve of their men.

Agefilaus understanding that the Enemy used to appear in the Field after it was Noon, sacrificed by break of Day, and marching with diligence, entred their Trenches through a Place, that was not well guarded, wasting and destroying all to the Gates of *Thebes*. After this Action he retired to *Thespiæ*, and walled the Town, appointing *Phæbidas* Governour of the Place; and marching back again to *Megara*, disbanded the Auxiliaries, and returned home with his *Spartans*. From that time *Phæbidas* sent out Foragers to ruin, and destroy the Countrey about *Thebes*, who wasted it with their continual Depredations. On the contrary the *Thebans* to be even with them, fell with all their Forces into the *Thespians* Countrey; but whilst they were there,

Phæbidas

Τοῖς ἐπὶ-
πεπρω-
σιν ἐν με-
σμερία.
'Twas a
note of
Luxury
and Slo-
tishness to
sleep after
Dinner.
Athen.

Phæbidas observed them, and obliged them to keep together in a close Body. So that the *Thebans* being weary of their invasion, hastened their Retreat out of the Countrey: the *Muletiers* also threw away the Corn they carried, and drave their Mules home, so great a Consternation was the Army in! Then *Phæbidas* taking the Targetiers along with him, commanded the Heavy-armed men to follow, and pressed the Enemy very hard, hoping to give them a total Defeat. For he led on very boldly, encouraging his men to set seriously to their Work, and the *Thespians* Heavy-armed men to follow. The *Theban* Cavalry getting together in a Body, retired to a Forest that could not be passed through, and there they turned upon the Enemy, because there was no way to retreat. Whereupon the formost of the *Lacedemonian* Targetiers being few in number, and struck with a terror, fell to flight: Which the *Theban* Horse seeing, they were encouraged to fall upon those that fled, and soon after *Phæbidas* with two or three more, that fought by him were slain: Whereupon all the Mercenaries fled. When they came in their pursuit to the Heavy-armed men of the *Thespians*, these who before disdained to yield to the *Thebans*, turned their backs,

backs, though pursued by none, because it was late in the Evening, and though but few of them were slain, yet they stopped not, till they had a Wall between them, and their Enemy.

By this Action the *Theban* Affairs recovered new Life again; so that they made War upon the *Theſpians*, and other Neighbouring Cities, causing the People to remove from these Places to *Thebes*, there being in those Towns the same Government, as in that City, by which the Friends of the *Lacedemonians* were weakened there. After *Phæbidas* was slain, the *Lacedemonians* sent a Colonel with a Regiment by Sea, to put into the Garison at *Theſpiæ*.

*Olymp. 101.
Chariander
Archon.*

In the Spring the *Lacedemonians* sent an Army against *Thebes*, and intreated *Ageſilaus* to command it. He took the same Measures in this Expedition, as in the other, sending before he had an auspicious Sacrifice to the Colonel at *Theſpiæ*, to possess himself of the Pass over *Cithæron*, and keep it till he himself arrived thither. When *Ageſilaus* passed this Hill, and came to *Platææ*, he made as if he would first march to *Theſpiæ*, sending thither, and ordering Provisions to be got ready, and the Deputies to expect him there. The Day following *Ageſilaus* sacrificed

crificed by break of Day, and reaching *Erythræ* performed two days march in one, and passed the Trench at *Solum*, before the *Thebans* came from the Guard of that Post, where he entred at first. Having performed this, he destroyed the *Thebans* Countrey, as far as that of *Tanagra* (which hitherto was defended by *Hy-patadorus*, and his men the *Lacedemonian* Allies) and retreated to the left of the Town. The *Thebans* coming upon him, drew up in *Batallia* at a Place called the Old Woman's Breast, having secured their Rear with a Ditch and *Palisado*, supposing they might easily hazard a Battle there, because the Place was very narrow, and not easily accessible. *Ageſilaus* seeing this, did not attack them, but marched a contrary way towards *Thebes*: the *Thebans* being in pain for their City, because it was naked, left the place where they were drawn up, and hastened thither with diligence, by the way that leads to *Pot-niæ*, that being the securest.

This was esteemed a neat Stratagem; for *Ageſilaus* by retiring a good distance from the Enemy, obliged them also to retreat full speed: besides the Colonels flanked them with some Regiments as they passed by. On the other hand the

Thebans

Thebans darted their Javelins from the Hill; so that *Alipetus* one of the Colonels was killed therewith. Yet the *Thebans* were beaten from this Hill, and the *Sciritæ* ascending with a Party of Horse, cut off some of their Rear as they passed by towards *Thebes*. When the *Thebans* were advanced near the Walls, they faced about, which the *Sciritæ* seeing, retired with diligence, and though not one of them was lost, yet the *Thebans* erected a Trophy, because the Enemy retreated from the Place to which they had first ascended.

The Season being advanced, *Agésilæus* parted thence, and encamped in a Place where he discovered the Enemy first drawn up, and the next Day decamped, marching the way that leads to *Thespiæ*. The Mercenary Targetiers of the *Thebans* following them very boldly, called to *Chabrias* to keep up close; the *Olynthian* Horse also, who according to a Treaty served under the *Thebans*, facing about, pursued them to the rise of an Hill, and killed a great many, for the Hill being easie to be rode up, the Horse made the Foot Prisoners on the Ascent. Afterwards when *Agésilæus* came to *Thespiæ*, and found the People divided, the *Lacedemonian*

demonian Faction giving out, that they would put their Adversaries to death, one of which was *Meno*, he would not permit it, but composed the Differences, and made them sware mutually to be Friends. From thence he returned over *Cithæron*, the way that goes to *Megara*, and there having disbanded the Auxiliaries, marched home with the Troops of his own Countreymen.

The *Thebans* being hard pressed with scarcity of Provisions at this time, because they had reaped no Corn for two years together, manned two Gallies, and sent ten Talents to be expended in Corn ^{1875 l.} at *Pagassæ*. But whilst they were buying of their Corn, *Alcetas* the *Lacedemonian*, Governour of *Oreum* fitted out three Gallies, taking particular care that his Design might not be discovered. After it was shipped off, *Alcetas* took that, and the Gallies, and the men, being no less than three hundred, and put them into the Citadel where he himself quartered. They say then that *Alcetas* had a marvellous handsome Boy of *Oreum* to wait upon him, whose Company he went down from the Citadel to enjoy. The Prisoners observing this his carelessness, seized the Citadel, upon which the Town revolted,

volted, and the *Thebans* imported plenty of Corn.

Hippodamus
Archon.

In the beginning of the Spring following, *Agessilaus* was confined to his Bed, for when he marcht with his Army out of the *Thebans* Countrey to *Megara*, as he was going out of *Venus's* Temple into the Senate-house; he broke a Vein somewhere or other in his Body, and the Blood flowed out from thence into the sound Leg, then the calf swelling, and the pains growing intollerable, a *Syracusan* Doctor opened a Vein by the Ankle. Yet the blood ran Day and Night continually, and did not stop, do what they could, till he fswounded, and then it stanchd. From hence he was carried to *Lacedemon*, where he lay sick the rest of the Summer, and the Winter following.

Socratides
Archon.

Early in the Spring the *Lacedemonians* sent out another Army, and gave the Command thereof to *Cleombrotus*, who marched with his Forces to *Cithæron*: the Targetiers went before to possess themselves of the Places that lay above the Road; but a Party of *Athenians*, and *Thebans* having taken the Hill before them, they let them ascend, and having gotten them within their power, rose up, pursued,

pursued, and killed near forty of them. After this Action *Cleombrotus* thinking it impossible to pass into the *Thebans* Countrey marched back again with his Army, and disbanded them.

At that time the Confederates being assembled at *Lacedemon*, muttered that they were consumed by the War, through the negligence of their Generals, that they could man out a much stronger Fleet, than the *Athenians*, and could starve their City, that they could transport an Army in this Fleet into the Countrey of *Thebes*, either at *Phocis*, or *Creusis*. Hereupon they fitted out sixty Sail, and made *Pollis* Admiral. Nor were they mistaken in their Measures; for the *Athenians* were blocked up, and their Corn Fleet being at *Geræstus*, could not return from thence, because the *Lacedemonian* Fleet lay off of *Ægina*, *Ceos*, and *Andros*. The *Athenians* considering their own exigencies fitted out a Fleet, and engaged with *Pollis* under the Conduct of *Chabrias*, beat him at Sea, and so the Corn was brought into *Athens*. Soon after the *Athenians* making Preparations to Transport an Army into *Bœotia*, the *Thebans* entreated them to send another into *Peloponnesus*, supposing if

this were done, the *Lacedemonians* would not be able at the same time to defend their own Countrey, and their Confederates, as also to send a sufficient force against them.

The *Athenians* provoked by what *Sphodrias* had done, equipped a Fleet of sixty Sail with great diligence, and chose *Timotheus* their Admiral. But, the Enemy having neither entred the *Thebans* Countrey, nor *Cleombrotus* began his march, nor *Timotheus* sailed round *Peloponnesus* with his Fleet; the *Thebans* vigorously attacked the Neighbouring Towns, and retook them. In the mean while, *Timotheus* sailed about *Peloponnesus*, and took *Corcyra*, but did not enslave the People, nor banish any, nor change their Laws; whereby he endeared himself to all the adjacent Towns. On the other hand, the *Lacedemonians* set out a Fleet against them, appointing *Nicolochus* their Admiral, a very daring sort of man; who coming in view of *Timotheus's* Fleet, without any more delay, though six of the *Ambracians* had not joyned him, engaged the other sixty six with fifty five of his own, and was beaten. Thereupon *Timotheus* erected a Trophy at *Ælyzia*. Afterwards, when *Timotheus's* Gallies were
haled

haled up a shore, and refitting, *Nicolochus* having joyned the six *Ambracians*, sailed to *Ælyzia* where he lay, and erected a Trophy in the Neighbouring Isles, because he came not out. *Timotheus* refitting those Ships he had, and equipping more in *Corcyra*, made up above seventy Sail, becoming thereby far stronger at Sea; and sent to *Athens* for money having occasion for large Summs wherewith to maintain so numerous a Fleet.

XENOPHON'S History

OF THE

Affairs of Greece.

LIB. VI.

THE CONTENTS.

Jason made Captain General of Thessaly. Mnasippus the Lacedemonian Admiral ruined by his Avarice. Iphicrates a Famous General of the Athenians. The States of Greece assemble about making a Peace. A Peace is made and broken. The Battle of Leuctra wherein the Lacedemonians are overthrown by the Thebans. Jason is murdered in the height of his Glory. The Lacedemonians beg Assistance of the Athenians against the Thebans.

THE Affairs of the *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians* stood thus. The *Thebans* having subdued the Towns of *Bæotia*, carried the War into *Phocis*: whereupon the *Phoceans* sent Ambassadors to *Lacedemon* to let them know, that if they were not succoured, they must necessarily fall into the hands of the *Thebans*. Upon this Message they sent *Cleombrotus* their King with four Regiments, and a Detachment of the Confederates into *Phocis*. Much about this time, *Polydamas* the *Pharsalian* came out of *Thessaly* to *Lacedemon*, being esteemed in the other Parts thereof, a Person of Honour and Integrity, and in his own City was reputed one of that Probity, that the *Pharsalians* in time of Sedition committed the Citadel to his care, ordering him to receive the Revenues assigned by Law to be expended on the * Sacrifices, and other Publick Affairs. Out of that Money he kept the Citadel, and gave up his Accounts every Year, both of that, and his other Trust, making use of his own Money, when he had none of the Publick, and reimbursing himself out of the Revenue, when there was Money in Bank. Moreover he was in other respects

* The Sacrifices were at the charge of the Publick for the most part, and *Polydamas* performed several Heavens to turn Christians because of the costliness of their Religion. *Suid. in voce. Oiodb.*

spects according to the *Thessalian* Mode a Lover of Hospitality and Magnificence. When he arrived at *Lacedemon* he made this Oration before the Senate.

'Tis but reasonable (My Lords of *Lacedemon*) ^{*Polydamas's Oration.*} seeing I and all my Ancestors have been your Publick Hosts and Benefactors, that I should make my Applications to you in my Straits; and, when any thing opposes your Interest in *Thessaly*, that I should inform you thereof. I make no question but you have heard of *Jason*, a man of great Fame, and one that can bring a considerable Army into the Field. He made a Truce, and coming to me, spake after this manner. *Polydamas!* I have already reduced the most powerful Cities of *Thessaly*; and those I have conquered though assisted by your Arms. Let this therefore be a convincing Argument to you; that I can possess my self of your City *Pharsalus* maugre all the opposition you can make. You know that I have six thousand Mercenaries, which in all probability no City can withstand, and I can draw as great a Body out of the Garisons. On the other hand the Forces of the Cities are such as are superannuated, or not yet grown up, being raw, and undisciplined men: but I entertain none in my Service,

vice, that can't endure the hardships of War as well as my self. I'll give you a very true Account how Affairs stand. This Jason is of a robust Body, and indefatigable Industry; he exercises his Soldiers every day, training them in the Artillery Ground, and in his Marches, and those Mercenaries he finds effeminate, he cashiered. But such as he sees behave themselves in time of Action with Bravery, and Resolution, he honours with the pay of two, three, nay sometimes four men, together with other Rewards, as the Cure of their Distempers, and decent Burial. So that all Mercenaries, who serve under him, know, that their valour procures them an honourable, and plentiful Livelihood. He informed me further, though I was not ignorant of it before, that the Maraci, Dolopes, and Alcetas the Governour of Epirus were already subdued. What then need I fear, said he, but that I may think my self able to master you with ease? But perhaps some that don't know me will say, why do you delay? why don't you immediately make War against the Pharfalians? my reason is, because I think it far better to engage them by a fair compliance than open force; for if I use constraint, you will on the one hand make it your Business to

create me what trouble you can, and I on the other to diminish your Power as far as I am able, But if you will be persuaded to joyn me, we shall be a mighty reinforcement to each other. I understand Polydamas, that the eyes of all your Countrey are fixt upon you, and if you will bring over the People to my Interest, I engage to make you the greatest man, next my self, throughout all Greece. Yet hear what those Affairs are, that I'll give you the administration of next under my self, and credit me no farther, than your reason will give you leave. 'Tis apparent, that with the Accession of Pharfalus, and those Towns you are possessed of, I could with ease be made Captain General of the Theffalians; and if Theffaly were under such a Commander, we could raise six thousand Horse, and above ten thousand Heavy-armed men; whose Stature and Magnanimity whilst I consider, I think if they were well disciplined, they would be the bravest men throughout the World. For Theffaly being a large Countrey, all the Nations round about it, would be reduced, if once a Captain General was constituted. Most of our Neighbours are expert in throwing the Lance, so that in probability they may be too strong for us in Targeties: yet the Boeotians, and the rest who are engaged in
the

the War against the Lacedemonians, are my Allies; and will all follow me, if I would but deliver them from the Spartan Yoke. I am sensible too, that the Athenians are very zealous to make an Alliance with us; but I have no design to joyn them, because I think 'tis easier to obtain the Sovereignty of the Sea, than the Empire of the Land. Yet I would have you consider (said he) whether I speak reason or no. For we, being possessors of Macedon, from whence the Athenians have their Timber, shall be able to build a stronger Fleet than they: whether can they equip a Fleet soonest, or we, who have so great a number of lusty Slaves? Who are better able to maintain Seamen, we that have such plenty of Corn, as to export, or they who have not sufficient for themselves unless they buy? Perhaps too, we have more plenty of Money, being we depend not on little tributary Islands, but receive our Taxes from the Nations on the Continent. When Thessaly is under a Captain General all the adjacent Countries shall pay us Tribute; the King of Persia too who is the richest man on Earth, does not raise his Tribute on the Isles, but Main-land, and might be reduced with less difficulty than Greece, for all the men there (one excepted) have more mind to be Slaves, than to be Soldiers. I

know

know too what kind of Forces they were who marcht with Cyrus, and Agefilaus, that brought the King of Persia to the last extremity. Upon this his Discourse, I told him he spoke several things that deserved to be seriously considered. But, said I, I don't understand why we should quit the Lacedemonian Interest, seeing we can lay nothing to their charge. Then he commended me, adding, that since I was a Person of that Honour, he was the more desirous to make an Alliance with me, and gave me liberty to come and acquaint you how Affairs stood, and that he is resolved to fall upon us Pharsalians, if we don't submit our selves to him. He bid me therefore demand assistance of you, and, says he, if you can prevail with them to send a sufficient force against me, I shall then take what advantage the Fortune of War puts into my hands. But if you think they will not supply you with an Army strong enough, you will not escape the censure of your Countreymen, who have so great a veneration for you, and amongst whom you bear the greatest sway. This is my Errand to you, and I have related both what I saw my self, and heard from him. I suppose, My Lords, that if you send such Forces as I and the rest of Thessaly

faly ſhall think ſufficient to make war againſt Jaſon ; that the other Cities will revolt : For all are jealous of the growth of this mans power ; - and if you think your Half-ſlaves, undisciplin'd men, and a General of no Conduct will ſerve ; I adviſe you rather to be quiet : For aſſure your ſelves, you have a mighty power, and prudent Leader for to ſtruggle with ; Who either by Stratagem, Surprize, or Force, rarely miſſes of his Enterprize. The Day and Night are all one to him, and when Expedition is required, he can Eat and March at the ſame time ; thinking 'tis then only time to Repoſe, when he is arrived whither he intended, and has accompliſhed what he deſigned. He has alſo inured his Soldiers to the ſame hardſhip, underſtanding how to gratiſie the deſires of his men, when they have adventured hard, and to ſuit his Rewards to their Fancies : So that thoſe who ſerve under him, have learnt the reſult of their Toils to be certain Recreation and pleaſure. And this advantage he has, that never any man was more aſtemious from bodily pleaſures, being never diverted by them from diſpatching his buſineſs : 'Tis your concern therefore to conſider of theſe things, and to let me know both what you can, and what you intend to do.

Thus

Thus he ſpoke ; the *Lacedemonians* deferred their Answer, and taking into conſideration the next day , and the day following how many Regiments they had abroad, and how many Gallies to fight the *Athenians* with ; as alſo what Forces they had to carry on the War againſt the Borderers, return'd him this Answer ; That at preſent they were not in a condition to ſend him ſufficient Succours, but exhorted him to go home, and put his own Affairs, and thoſe of the City in the beſt poſture he could: He commended the plain dealing of the Republick, and departed.

Afterwards he went to *Jaſon*, and entreated him not to oblige him to deliver up the City of *Pharſalus*, but permit him to keep it for them that had committed it to his care, and gave his Children for Hoſtages, promiſing to bring over the City by a free Conſent, and make him Captain-General: Whereupon immediately Hoſtages being exchanged, the *Pharſalians* obtained Peace, and *Jaſon* by an univerſal conſent, was declared Captain General of the *Theſſalians*. After he was choſen, he appointed what *Quotas* of Horſe and heavy-armed men, each City ſhould furniſh, having above eight thouſand

land Horse together with the Confederates; of heavy-armed men, no less than twenty thousand, and Targetiers enough to fight any Army whatsoever. It would be too tedious a piece of work to reckon up, what a number of considerable Cities were subject to him: He ordered all the Neighbouring-people to pay the same Tribute they did in *Scopas's* time, and thus things stood on that side.

Now I leave *Jason's* Affairs, and return to the place, where I made my Digression. The *Lacedemonians* and Confederates assembling in *Phocis*, the *Thebans* retired into their own Territories, and guarded the Passes. The *Athenians* seeing the *Thebans*, though raised by them, contribute no Ship-money; that they themselves were fleeced with Taxes, suffered Depredations from the *Ægeians*, and maintained Garrisons, were very desirous to bring the War to a conclusion, and sent Ambassadors to *Lacedemon*, in order to make a Peace. Immediately two of the Ambassadors setting sail from thence by order of the Republick, commanded *Timotheus* to return home with the Fleet, because peace was made. In his return he carried the Exiles of *Zacynthus*, and put them ashore in their own Country:

There-

Thereupon the *Zacynthians* sent to *Lacedemon*, and acquainted them with the Injuries they had suffered from *Timotheus*; the *Lacedemonians* supposing the *Athenians* had broken the Peace by this action, fitted out another Fleet forthwith, getting together sixty Sail,* and appointed *Mna-*^{* From}
sippus Admiral, giving him Commission ^{*Lacedemon,*}
amongst other things, to make an At- ^{*Corinth,*}
tempt upon *Corcyra*, and to guard the ^{*Leucas,*}
Seas. ^{*Ambracia,*}
^{*Elis, Za-*}
^{*cynthus,*}
^{*Achaia,*}
^{*Epidaurus,*}
^{*Troezen,*}
^{*Hermione,*}
^{*and the*}
^{*Halians.*}

They sent also to *Dionysius*, to let him know that it was his Concern not to suffer *Corcyra* to remain in the hands of the *Athenians*. *Mnasippus* having assembled his Fleet, went against *Corcyra* with fifteen hundred Mercenaries, besides those from *Lacedemon*. There he making a Descent, took the Island, and burnt the Country which was neatly Cultivated and Planted, having stately Houses and Wine-Cellars in several places: Insomuch, they report the Souldiers grew so dainty, that they would drink none but † *Aromatick-*
Wine. A great many Prisoners and Cattel were also taken in the Country: After that *Mnasippus* encamped on a Hill five Furlongs distant from the City in the Front of the Island, that so he might cut off any Forces which entred the Island on
^{† This Li-}
^{quor so}
^{much pri-}
^{zed by the}
^{Ancients,}
^{was made}
^{of new}
^{Wine, and}
^{a mixture}
^{of Sea-wa-}
^{ter: their}
^{Wines al-}
^{so were}
^{perfumed}
^{with Vio-}
^{lets, Roses,}
^{and other}
^{fragrant}
^{Flowers.}
^{*Athen. lib.*}
^{1.}
that

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that side : On the other he lay with the Fleet, supposing he could discover any Ships that were going thither, and prevent them from landing. Moreover, he rode in the Port, and blockt up the City when he was not hindred by storms. The *Corcyreans* seeing they could get nothing out of the Country, because it was possessed by the Enemy, and that nothing could be imported by Sea, being overpowered there, became greatly distressed; and sent to desire Succours of the *Athenians*, acquainting them that the taking *Corcyra* would be both a great loss to them, and an accession of strength to the Enemy: For no City furnished more Money or Ships than theirs, excepting *Athens*; Besides *Corcyra* lay commodiously for the Bay of *Corinth*, and the places that belonged to it; as also opportunely for the inleeting *Laconia*, but most advantageously for the opposite Continent, and the Passage out of *Sicily* into *Peloponnesus*.

The *Athenians* hearing this, and thinking it a matter of very great Importance, sent *Stesicles* Commander in Chief, with about six hundred *Targetiers*, requesting *Alcetas* to transport them: Accordingly he landed them at a certain place in the Island

Island by Night, and so they got into the City. Besides, they equipped sixty Sail of Ships, and appointed *Timotheus* Admiral, who went to the Islands, & endeavoured to make up their Complement there, because he could not fit them out at *Athens*; accounting it a matter of no small moment to go with Precipitation against a Fleet that was already united. The *Athenians* concluding he trifled and wasted the time of Action, forgave him not, but put him out of Commission, and chose *Iphicrates* in his room; who in a very small time fitted out a Fleet with great diligence, obliging those that were bound to set out Gallies to equip them, taking the *Paralus* and *Salaminia*, which in a more special manner attended the Service of the Publick; and what Ships soever he met with on the Coast of *Attica*, telling them that if things succeeded well in *Corcyra*, he would send several back again, and got together a Fleet of about seventy Sail.

In the mean while, the *Corcyreans* were so distressed with Famine, that *Mnasippus* by reason of the numbers of Deserters, declared by Proclamation, That all such should be sold for Slaves: Nevertheless when some deserted for all that, he whipt them, and sent them back again.

On the contrary, the Besieged would not receive their Slaves into the Town, so that they died without the Walls. When *Mnasippus* saw this, he thought he was Cock-sure of the Town, and began to Treat the *Mercenaries* after a new manner, abridging some of their whole Pay, and wastwo Months in Arrears to those which he paid. Nor did he this for want of Money, as was reported; for it being a Sea-Expedition, several Cities had sent Money in lieu of Men. In the mean while, the Besieged discovering from the Towers the Watches not so carefully kept as before, and the Souldiers stragling up and down the Country, sallied out, took some, and killed others. *Mnasippus* having notice hereof, not only arm'd himself, but went out with his heavy-arm'd men to their Relief, ordering the Commanders and Captains to lead out their *Mercenaries*, and when some of them made answer, It was not easie for him to contain the Souldiers in their Duty, who had not supplied them with Necessaries, he struck one with his Truncheon, and another with the Javelin of his Lance: And thus they marched out shrewdly against their humour, hating their General; *a thing no ways expedient in time of Action.* After
he

he had drawn them up in *Battalia*, he routed those that were posted by the Gates, and pursued them, but they getting near the Walls, and facing about, threw their Javelins, and darted their Lances from off the Monuments: At the same time, more sallied out at the other Gates, and fell pell-mell upon his Rear. The men being marshalled Eight in Front, and apprehending that part of the *Battalion* to be weak, endeavoured to face about: but as they began to retreat, the Enemy attacked them, as if they had actually fled, so that they could face no more; and then those next the Rear were routed. By this time *Mnasippus* was not able to succor them that were pressed, because the Enemy lay hard upon him in the Front, and hose about him grew still fewer and fewer. At last the Enemy gave a furious Charge, and attacked *Mnasippus* his Squadron, being already reduced to a small number, which the heavy-arm'd men seeing, came on, and killing *Mnasippus*, pursued with all their Forces, and had taken the Camp, and Trench, but that discovering the Suters Servants, and Slaves, they took them to be men effective, and retired.

The *Corcyreans* erected a Trophy, and
Z 3 restored

restored the Dead upon Truce. Hereupon they in the Town gathered strength, and the Besiegers were wholly disheartned, there being news that *Iphicrates* was as good as arrived, and the *Corcyreans* were Equipping their Fleet; Upon that, *Hypermenes*, *Mnasippus* his Vice-Admiral, fitted out all the Ships that were there, and sailing about to the Camp, put the Slaves and Money on board all the small Vessels, and sent them away, defending the Camp himself with the Seamen, and other Souldiers that had escaped the Battel; who having very great Apprehensions lest they should be surprized by the *Athenians*, went on board the Gallies in confusion, and setting Sail, arrived safe at *Leucas*, leaving behind them a great quantity of Corn and Wine, with a considerable number of Slaves and sick men. When *Iphicrates* set Sail, he immediately made ready for an engagement, leaving his main Sails as though he were going to fight; & made little use of his small Vessels though it was a fair Gale, but kept on his course with rowing, whereby he exercised the mens bodies more, and made the Ships Sail better: For several times in those places, where the Fleet were to Dine or Sup, he stood out to Sea, and then tacking,

lay

lay with the Stems of the Gallies towards the Shore, commanding them when the sign was given, to strive who should land first, because they that did, were by way of Reward served first with Water, or any thing else they wanted, and had the pre-eminence of dining first.

On the contrary, it was a great punishment for the Tardy to be deprived of all those Advantages, and be obliged to come on board when the sign was made; for those that got first ashore did every thing at their leisure, but those that came last, did all in an hurry. When *Iphicrates* dined in the Enemies Country, he set Centinels, as the custom is at Land, and haled up his Masts, setting the men to spy from them; so that they looking from an Eminence, saw a great deal further than they could upon a Level. When he had Supped and Reposed, he made no Fires in the Camp, but made Lights before it, that the Enemy might not approach undiscovered: Oftentimes when he supped in a Calm, he put to Sea, and if it were a Gale, the Seamen rested, and the Fleet kept on their course; if they were obliged to row, he refreshed them by turns; and in their course by Day, he sometimes drew up the Fleet in a Line,

Z 4

and

and other whiles in a Body: So that they supposing as they sailed, that they went into a Sea possessed by the Enemies, had all things in readiness for an Engagement. And because *Iphicrates* did only that which was just necessary, he prevented Supplies from being brought to the Enemy, and performed his Voyage with great expedition. He was at *Sphagea* a Town in *Laconia* when *Mnasippus* was slain; from thence he went into the Country of *Elis*, and passing the Mouth of *Alpheus*, put into Port about a place called *Icthus*; next day he sailed from thence to *Cephallenia*, continuing his course in that order, so as to have all things ready for an Engagement, if occasion served. For being he had heard nothing about *Mnasippus* from any that was an Eye Witness, he suspected this report might be spread purposely to catch him, and therefore he was upon his Guard: but afterwards arriving at *Cephallenia*, and being certified of the truth there, he refreshed his Army.

I confess that Discipline and Exercise is to be used, when there is a prospect of an Engagement: but this I commend in Iphicrates, that being to go where he immediately expected a Sea Fight, he so contrived, that his men should understand what be-
longed

longed to one, and yet all this Discipline did not retard his course.

After he had taken in the Towns in *Cephallenia*, he went to *Corcyra*, and there having Intelligence of the ten Gallies, which *Dionysius* sent to the Assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, he went himself to view in what part of the Country they might be discovered when they arrived, and at what place from the Town; they who were to give the sign of their Arrival might be discerned: there he set Scouts, and appointed what sign they should make upon the Enemies Arrival, and coming into Port. In the meanwhile, he gave Orders to twenty Captains of Gallies, who were to attend him upon Summons made, and told them beforehand, that if they did not, they must thank themselves for what followed. It was worth while to have seen what haste they made upon the discovery of the Enemies Arrival, and the Proclamation made, there being none of them but got aboard with all imaginable diligence. *Iphicrates* went from thence to the place where the Enemies Gallies lay, and found that the men were all gone ashore: Only *Mnasippus* the *Rhodian* advised the rest not to abide there; and shipping his men, departed;
and

and though he met *Iphicrates's* Fleet, yet he made his escape; but the *Syracusan* Ships were taken men and all. *Iphicrates* took off the Jacks of those Ships, and towed them into the Port of *Corcyra*, and set a certain Ransom on every man, except *Anippus* the Admiral; whom he kept either to get a good Sum out of, or else for a Market; but he for grief, laid violent hands on himself: Therest *Iphicrates* discharged, having taken the *Corcyreans* security for payment of their Ransoms. His own Seamen he maintained, by employing them in Husbandry for the *Corcyreans*, and transported the *Targetiers*, and *Heavy-armed men* into *Acarmania*, to assist the Confederate Towns where ever there was occasion. After that he made War upon the *Thyreans* a valiant People, being possessed of a strong Town: Then he joyned the *Corcyrcan* Fleet, and making ninety Sail, went first to *Cephalenia* to raise Contribution, which some paid freely, and some by constraint.

In the next place, he went and ravaged the *Lacedemonians* Country, and took in the Towns in those parts, either by surrender, or if they were obstinate, by force. Of all *Iphicrates's* Voyages, this in my opinion deserves not the least praise:

I also

I also approve of his taking *Callistratus* the Orator along with him, though no very agreeable man for such an Employment, and *Chabrias* who had the Reputation of being a great General. For if he thought them wise men, and so took them for his Counsellors, this was prudently done: Or if he thought them to be Enemies, yet he had such confidence in himself, as to be taken doing no ill thing either through cowardize or negligence: This in my opinion was done like a man that was both brave and bold. And these were the Exploits of *Iphicrates*.

The *Athenians* seeing the *Platæans* Olym. 1022 Alcisthenes Archon. their Allies driven out of *Boeotia* already, the *Thespieans* flying to them for Succors, and begging of them not to see them dispossessed of their Country, did not at all like these Proceedings of the *Thebans*, yet they thought they could not in honour make War upon them; nor did they think it agreeable to their Interest. But when they saw them employ their Arms against the *Phoceans* their ancient Allies, and Raze the Cities which had been faithful to them in the *Persian* War, and were still in Amity with them: they would be no longer concerned with their Affairs. Hereupon the *Athenians* decreeing to make Peace

* There being amongst those that were chosen, Callias, Son of Hipponicus, Autocles Son of Strombichides, Demostriatus, Son of Aristopho, Aristocles Cephibodotus, Melanopus, and Lycanthus.
† He that carried a Torch in Procession in the Feast of Ceres.
Callias's Speech.

Peace, sent Ambassadors first to the *Thebans*, exhorting them, if they thought fit, to go for Peace to *Lacedemon*; and accordingly they dispatched Ambassadors thither. * When they came to the General Assembly of the *Lacedemonians* and Allies, *Callistratus* the Orator was there also, who had promised *Iphicrates*, if he would send him, either to procure Money for the Fleet, or to make Peace; and from that time he had been at *Athens* negotiating a Peace. They being introduced before the States *Callias* the † Torch-bearer the Chief of the Embassy, who was a sort of a man that had a great Conceit of himself, and loved that others should have so too, began after this manner.

Not only I (my Lords of Lacedemon) have been your Publick Host, but my Father and Grandfather have transmitted this Hereditary Friendship down to their Posterity: I will inform you how the State stands affected to our Family; In time of War they choose us Generals, and when they desire Peace, they make us their Ambassadors. I myself came 'hither twice before about concluding the War; and in both my Embassies I made Peace between the two Nations. Now I come a third time, and hope to obtain an Accommodation upon more reasonable

reasonable Terms: For I observe we are both of a mind, both having alike resented the Razing of *Thespiæ* and *Plataæ*: Is it not reason then, that those who are of the same Interest, should be rather Friends, than Enemies? Certainly no wise men will engage in a War upon small Differences: now if we be of the same mind, it will be no wonder if a Peace ensue thereupon. In justice we ought not to make War with one another, being *Triptolemus* our Progenitor is reported first to have brought Corn into *Peloponnesus*, and to have initiated *Hercules* your Founder, together with *Castor* and *Pollux* your Country-men, the first of any Strangers, into the secret Mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*: How then can you in justice come and destroy their Corn, from whom you at first received your Seed? And ought not we to wish them all Necessaries in great abundance, on whom we formerly bestowed them. If it be decreed by Heaven, that Wars must be amongst men, we ought to begin them as slowly as may be; and when begun, to bring them to as speedy a conclusion as we can.

After him began *Autocles*, one that was esteemed a very subtle Orator.

Though I know very well, my Lords of *Lacedemon*, what I am going to say will not be

Autocles's
Speech.

be very grateful to you; yet in my opinion, they that would make a lasting Peace, should first declare to each other, the causes of the War: You always pretended, that the Cities should enjoy their own Laws, yet you yourselves are the greatest Opposers of their Liberty. This is the very first Article of all your Treaties; That your Confederates should serve you in all your Wars: but how is this consistent with their Liberty? being you declare any to be enemies without Communicating it, and then lead your Allies against them; so that those you are pleased to call Free, are necessitated to bear Arms against the best of their Friends: Besides, you Constitute Governours by Ten men in one place, and by Thirty in another, not regarding whether these Magistrates Govern according to Law, so they be but able to contain those Cities in Obedience to you by force; whereby you seem to be more taken with a tyrannical, than moderate Government: When the King proposed that the Cities should enjoy their own Laws, you pretended that the Thebans acted contrary to the Kings Letters, for not permitting each City to be governed by its own Magistrates and Laws: but you when you were once possessed of the Citadel would not so much as suffer the Thebans them-

themselves to enjoy their own Priviledges. They who would make Peace must not expect reasonable Terms from others, when they stick at nothing whereby to aggrandize themselves. He put them all to silence, and those who had suffered by the Lacedemonians heard him with great satisfaction.

After him, Callistratus spake:

Callistratus's
Speech.

I can't deny, my Lords of Lacedemon, but that there have been miscarriages on both sides, yet my meaning is not, that we must ne're be reconciled to those who have once offended us: I never yet could see any man without his failing; Men I find grow wiser sometimes by their miscarriages, especially if they have smarted for them, as we both have done. I observe that some things which were unjustly carried on, have thwarted your Designs; such was the surprisal of the Citadel in Thebes: For when you made it your whole business to restore the Cities their own Laws, as soon as ever the Thebans were unjustly treated, all the rest sided with them: So that I hope you will learn from hence, that Ambition very rarely turns to a good account; and that for the future you will carry it with Moderation in your Alliances to others: They that would oppose the Treaty, maliciously report, as if we were not desirous of

of Peace, but afraid lest Antalcidas should return from the King with Money. Consider with your selves how idely these men talk; for the King required in his Letters, That all the Cities in Greece should be free, and if we both say, and do according to the tenour of them, what need we fear the King? Does any one think that he had rather be at a vast Expence to make others great, than to have what he has a mind to done without Expence? But admit it be so; why then came we hither? You may easily apprehend with a little Consideration, that Necessity brought us not, if you do but call to mind what has been lately done either at Sea or Land: What then can be the reason? For certain some of the Confederates do that which is neither for our Interest nor yours. We have ingeniously declared to you our Sentiments, in return for your having been a means of preserving us. Now if I must speak of the Advantage to be expected from a War, some Cities will side with ours, and some with yours; and in every one, some there will be who will favour the Athenians, and others that will take part with the Lacedemonians: If therefore both Nations were at Amity, whom could we have any apprehensions of? If ye are our Friends, who can incommode

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us by Land? and if we stand by you, who can molest you by Sea? We all know, that Wars often break out, and are again composed: and though we don't now, yet in time we may long for Peace. Why then don't we come to an Accommodation as soon as we can, but still delay the time, till we be overcome by the multitude of our Afflictions, and some incurable Evil does arise? I do not approve of those who having often bore away the Prize, and gain'd Reputation thereby, grow so in love with Combating, as not to forbear till they are beaten, and then give over exercising. Nor do I like your Dice-players, who if they win one Game, will double the Stake; for I see many of them quite broke, whom we ought so far to take example from, lest we be reduced to such a Game, so as either to win or lose all. Let us therefore be Friends one with another, whilst we are in a good and prosperous condition: so we by our mutual assistance shall become more considerable in Greece, than we have been any ages heretofore.

All of them were thought to have discours'd very well, and the Lacedemonians decreed that a Peace should be accepted on these Terms: That they the Lacedemonians should recal all their Governours

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out of the Cities, and disband their Armies both at Sea and Land; that the Cities should enjoy their own Laws; and if any should act contrary hereto, that whosoever would might assist the injured Cities, but if any would not, they should not be obliged thereto by Oath. The *Lacedemonians* swore to these Articles for themselves and their Allies; as did the *Athenians* and their Confederates, in the name of their respective Cities. Amongst the rest that swore to the Articles, the *Thebans* entered their Names, and the day following when their Ambassadors came to desire that it might be inserted; *The Bœotians had ratified the Peace instead of the Thebans.* *Agésilas* made answer, He would not alter any thing of what they had Sworn and Recorded at first; and that if they would not stand to the Treaty, they should be blotted out if they pleased. So the rest having made Peace, the Controversie remained only about the *Thebans*; and it was the opinion of the *Athenians* themselves, that 'twas to be feared the *Thebans* would, as it was generally discours'd, be * irrecoverably lost: upon which they went away quite disheartned.

After this, the *Athenians* drew their
Garisons

Garisons out of all the Cities, and called home *Iphicrates* with the Fleet, obliging him to restore all he had taken since the conclusion of the Peace at *Lacedemon*. In like manner, the *Lacedemonians* did the same to the Cities they were possess'd of. <sup>*Phraſclides Ar-
chon.*</sup> When *Cleombrotus* who commanded the Army in *Phocis*, consulted the Magistrates at home, how he should govern himself; *Prothous* said, That in his opinion the Army ought to be Disbanded pursuant to the Treaty, and notice to be given to the Cities for every one to contribute what they thought fit to the Temple of *Apollo*, and if any oppos'd their Liberty, then to exhort such of the Confederates as would defend the common Interest, to declare War against them; adding, he thought the Gods in this case would be very favourable to their Cause, and the Cities succour the Injured. The Council hearing him say so, thought he talk'd idly; for in all probability they were possess'd, and sent Orders to *Cleombrotus*, not to Disband his Army, but to march directly against the *Thebans*, unless they would let the Cities enjoy their own Laws: For *Cleombrotus* hearing that Peace was made, sent to the *Ephori* for Orders, and they gave him these Instructions.

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Therefore

* *Δικαιοσύνη*, the custom being, that when a Nation was beaten, the Tenths of their spoils were offered to *Apollo*.
Harpoc.

Therefore when he understood that they were so far from restoring the Cities their Laws, and Disbanding their Forces, that they took the Field against him; he marched with his Army into *Bæotia*, yet did not enter from out of *Phocis* at a narrow Pass which was guarded by the *Thebans*, where they expected he would, but passed over the Mountains unexpectedly by the way of *Thisbe*, and arriving at *Creusis*, took twelve *Theban* Gallies together with the Town.

When he had performed this Exploit, he marched up from the Sea-coast, and Encamped at *Leuctra*, which is in the Territory of *Thespiæ*. The *Thebans* had their Camp over against them at a small distance on a Hill, having joyned none of the Allies except the *Bæotians*. There *Cleombrotus*'s Friends came to him, & said, *Cleombrotus*! If you suffer the *Thebans* to go off without fighting, you'll go nigh to lose your Head; for it will not be forgotten, how you did not burn the *Theban*'s Country when you were at *Cyncephale*, and that in another Campaign you were repulsed from the Pass over the *Cithæron*, which *Agésilas* always gained. Therefore, if either you regard your Honour, or care for living in your own Country,

Country, you must engage them. This was his Friends Advice. But his Enemies cried, Now he will discover whether he, as 'tis reported, has any real respect for the *Thebans* or no. When *Cleombrotus* heard this, he was egg'd on to fight. On the other hand, the *Theban* Captains considered, that if they gave him not Battel, the adjacent Towns would revolt, that they should be besieged; and that if the people of *Thebes* wanted Provisions, the City would go near to rise up against them. Moreover several of those who had been banished before, concluded it was better to die upon the Spot, than to be banished a second time: Besides an Oracle went about, that the *Lacedemonians* should be overthrown near the * Graves of those Virgins, who it was said, made away themselves, because they had been forced by some *Lacedemonians*; and this put life into them. The *Thebans* adorned the Monuments of the Virgins before the Fight. News also was brought from the City, that all the Temples opened of their own accord; and that the Priestesses said, that the Gods Prognosticated a Victory. They reported also, that the Arms in *Hercules*'s Temple disappeared, as if *Hercules* himself had been gone out to

* These were the Daughters of *Leuctyrus* and *Scedæsus*, whom the *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors ravished; and they calling to Heaven for Vengeance, killed themselves.

Diod. Sic. l. 15.

Battel:

Battel: Yet some say, that these were only the Devices of the Generals. In the Battel every thing thwarted the *Lacedemonians*; but Fortune disposed all things well for the *Thebans*; After Dinner *Cleombrotus* held the last Council of War before the Battel, and because they had drank pretty well at Dinner, 'twas said the Wine did give them a Whet.

The Battel
at Leuctra.

When both Sides were armed, and it was certain that there would be a Battel, the Sutlers, Drudges, and such as had no mind to fight, left the *Bæotian Army* at first: but *Hiero's* Mercenaries and the *Phocæan* Targetiers, as also the *Phliæstian* and *Heracleæan* Horse fetching a compass fell upon them as they retired, and drove them back, pursuing them to the Camp, and thereby made the *Bæotian Army* far more numerous and stronger than it was before. There was a Plain between both Armies, and in it the *Lacedemonians* placed their Horse before the Battel: On the contrary the *Thebans* confronted them with theirs, which by reason of the War with the *Orchomenians* & *Thespiæans*, were well experienced: but the *Lacedemonian* Cavalry never were in a worse condition; for the richest men set out Horses, so that when an Army was to be levied, the man took

took the Horse and such Arms as were given him, and went immediately into the Service thus appointed: they too that served on Horse-back were men of weak bodies, and without any sense of honour at all. These were the Cavalry on both sides: 'Tis reported, that the

* Divisions of the *Lacedemonian Phalanx* were Marshalled three in Front, whereby they were Twelve deep. On the contrary, the *Thebans* were drawn up Fifty deep, concluding if they beat those about the King, they should easily defeat the rest. When *Cleombrotus* began to move towards the Enemy, before the rest of the Army perceived that he advanced, the Horse were engaged and soon routed, who falling foul in their flight upon the Heavy-armed men, were attacked by the *Theban* Troops: Nevertheless one may conclude from this plain Argument, that *Cleombrotus* had the better at first; for if they that fought before him had not had the advantage at that time, they could not have taken him up and carried him off alive. But after General *Dino*, and *Sphodrias* one of the Council of War, and his Son *Cleonymus* were slain; the Horse, * Lieutenant Colonels, and others that were pressed by the multitudes gave back.

* *Εὐνοῦ-
ρια* con-
tains: 2
men, and
4 Officers.
which be-
ing drawn
up 3 in
rank,
made 12
in File.
*Scol. Thu-
cid. lib. 5.*

*Συμπολεῖς.
Crag.*

Thereupon, when their left wing saw their right disordered, they retreated: Nevertheless tho' many were slain, yet the Vanquished repassed the Trench which was before the Camp, and stood to their Arms in the place from whence they first moved; for their Camp was not on a Level, but rather on a rising Ground. Some of the *Lacedemonians* thinking this Defeat was not to be endured, declared they ought not to suffer the Enemy to erect a Trophy, and that they were obliged not to fetch off their Slain upon Truce, but by force of Arms: Yet when the great Officers saw that near a thousand *Lacedemonians* were slain, and four hundred out of seven hundred *Spartans* killed, and that the Confederates had no mind to fight; some of them being not much concerned for their loss, they called the fittest men together, and consulted what measures to take. It was the general opinion at last, to fetch off the killed upon Truce; and accordingly they sent an Herald about it: so the *Thebans* restored their Dead, and erected a Trophy.

When the news of this Defeat was brought to *Lacedemon*, the *Ephori* were troubled at it, as they had reason to be; yet it being the last day of the * Feast, wherein

* Men and women exercised naked and exposed their bodies to the weather, to make them hardy.
Plut. in Lyfing.

wherein the Children exercised naked, and the mens *Chorus* being in the Pit, they did not bid them withdraw, but make an end of their Exercise: and then gave an account of the Names of those that were slain, to their Relations, charging the Women not to make any howling, but to conceal their loss patiently. The next Day one might see those whose Relations were slain, walking abroad gay and merry; but a few of those appeared whose Friends were said to have escaped, and those too dejected, and sneaking up and down. Soon after the *Ephori* decreed to raise an Army out of the remaining Regiments, and take in men to seventy years of age; for they had sent some of the same age out of the Regiments which were abroad, they that were sixty five years old being gone into the *Phocean* War before this Fight, and those that were left at home to bear the Publick Offices, were ordered to go into the Service. *Agefilans* was not yet recovered of his Indisposition; whereupon his Son *Archidamus* was made General, whom the *Tegeans* willingly followed to the Wars; for *Stasippus* Faction, which sided with the *Lacedemonians*, were still in being, and carried all before them. The

Mantineans

Mantineans out of the Villages also being under an Aristocratical Government, joyned them. Besides these, the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Phliasians*, and *Acheans*, went readily into the Service, and other Cities sent their Forces. Moreover, the *Lacedemonians* and *Corinthians* fitted out some Gallies, and desired the *Sicyonians* to do the like, intending to transport their Army on board them: Hereupon *Archidamus* sacrificed for an Expedition.

Dysnietus
Archon.

The *Thebans* immediately after the Fight, sent a Messenger Crowned with a Garland to *Athens*, to relate the greatness of the Victory, and to desire that they would joyn with them against the *Lacedemonians*, declaring they might now revenge themselves on them for all their former Injuries: At that time the Senate was sitting in the *Citadel*, but when they heard the News, any one might see that they were extreamly troubled at it, for they neither sent the Herald any Presents, nor made any mention of Assistance, and so he departed from thence. The *Thebans* sent also an Express to *Jason* their Ally, desiring him to send them Succours, considering with themselves what was likely to be the issue of these things. He immediately

diately set out a Fleet, pretending to assist them by Sea; and taking the *Mercenaries* with his own Guards, though the *Phoceans* had made War upon him without declaring, yet he passed by Land into *Bæotia*, appearing in several places sooner than there was any News of his March, proceeding a great way in his Voyage before all his Forces could be assembled; shewing thereby, *That things of great Importance are effected easier by Diligence than Force.*

When he arrived in *Bæotia*, the *Thebans* signified to him, that they had then an opportunity of falling upon the *Lacedemonians*, and that whilst he attacked them with his *Mercenaries* from an Eminence, they would set upon them in the Front. But he diverted them from this their Design, advising them not to aim still at greater things, since they had performed so brave an Exploit already, lest they should be deprived of the advantage of the Victory they had lately obtain'd. *Don't you know* (says he) *that when you were reduced to extremities, you then became victorious, and therefore you should consider, that if the Lacedemonians be once made weary of their lives, they too will grow desperate, and fight it out to the last man.*
God.

God also is sometimes pleased to humble the Mighty, and exalt the Mean. With these Words he dissuaded the *Thebans* from putting all to the hazard.

On the other hand he shewed the *Lacedemonians* the difference between a routed, and Victorious Army; but if you (says he) would have this Defeat forgotten, I advise you to be quiet, till you have recovered, and raised a greater Power, and then set upon the *Thebans*, who are now invincible. You understand (says he) that there are at this time some of your Confederates, who discourse of treating with the Enemy, therefore do you endeavour by all means to make a Truce, which I the more desire out of a Design to preserve you, both in respect of the Alliance between my Father and you, and for that I my self am your Publick Host. This he spoke, though perhaps rather with intention to divide them, that so both might stand in need of his assistance. The *Lacedemonians* hearing him say so, desired him to negotiate a Truce; and when News came that it was concluded, the Generals commanded all to prepare themselves, and after they had supped, to decamp in the Night, that by break of Day, they might be marching

ing up *Cithæron*. When they had supped, the Generals commanded them to march before they slept, and immediately when it was dark, they took the way of *Creusis*, chusing rather to pass undiscovered, than rely upon the Truce. But they marcht on very heavily (for being it was Night, they departed in fear, and the way was bad) and came to *Ægosthena* in the Territory of *Megara*. There they met *Archidamus's* Army, who stayed till all the Confederates were come up, and then marched with his Forces as far as *Corinth*; where he dismiss the Auxiliaries, and marcht with the *Spartans* home.

Jason returning through *Phocis* took the Suburbs of *Hyampolis*, destroyed the Countrey, and killed a great many, but passed through the rest thereof without any Action at all. When he came to *Heraclea*, he took the Town, not that he feared any would fall into his Countrey, though that Pass were open; but considered rather, if any should possess themselves of *Heraclea*, which stood in a strait place, they might keep him out, if he should entertain a Design of invading *Greece*. After he returned back into *Theffaly* he became a very great man, both because he was made General by a Law

Law of the *Theſſalians*, and for that he maintained a great many Mercenaries, both Foot and Horſe that were experienced men, and excellent Soldiers; being yet greater, by reaſon of the ſtrong Alliance he had already, & becauſe ſtill more deſired it; but the greateſt of all the men in his time, for that no one Enemy was a Match for him.

When the *Pythian* Games drew near he gave out an Order amongſt the Cities to feed Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, and to provide them for the Sacrifice. 'Tis ſaid that he taxed every City, tho' moderately, no leſs than one thouſand Oxen, & ten thouſand other Cattle, proclaiming a Crown of Gold for a Prize to that City, which fed the fatteſt Ox for the Sacrifice of *Apollo*; and ſent Orders to the *Theſſalians* to prepare themſelves for the Campaign, againſt the *Pythian* Games; having thoughts, as the report went, to be Preſident himſelf of the Solemnity and Prizes. But what he thought to do with the Sacred Money is not yet known; for it being reported that when the *Delphians* conſulted what they ſhould do, if *Jaſon* offered to ſeize it; the God answered, that he could take care of that himſelf. This man that was ſo great, and entertained

tained ſuch vaſt Deſigns, whiſt he was muſtering and exerciſing the *Pheræan* Horſe, being ſat down and giving an answer to ſome that had buſineſs with him, was killed and cut in pieces by ſeven young men that came to him, pretending ſome Differences among themſelves; the Guards came briskly to his Aſſiſtance, and one of the *Ruffians* being yet ſtabbing him was wounded with a Lance and killed; another mounting his Horſe was left behind, and after he had received ſeveral Wounds, died alſo; the reſt got upon Horſes they had laid and eſcaped; being honourably received in the *Greek* Towns whereſoever they came. By which 'tis apparent the *Greeks* were in great fear leſt he ſhould have played the Tyrant with them.

After his Death *Polydorus* and *Polyphron* Brothers, were made *Generaliſſimo's*; but in their Journey to *Lariſſa*, *Polydorus* whiſt he was ſleeping in the Night, was killed by his Brother *Polyphron*, as 'tis thought; for his Death was ſuddain and without any apparent Cauſes. *Polyphron* governed one Year, converting his Generalſhip into a Tyranny; putting *Polydamus* and eight more of the Principal Citizens to death at *Pharſalus*, and baniſhed

ed several out of *Larissa*. Soon after this he was killed himself by *Alexander*, who revenged *Polydorus's* death, and put an end to that Tyranny. This *Alexander* taking upon him the Administration of Government became troublesome both to the *Thessalians* and *Thebans*; an Enemy to the *Athenians*, a Rogue at Land, and a Pirate at Sea. He having plaid such pranks was murdered by the instigation of his Wife, and assistance of her Brothers; she having told them that *Alexander* had a Design against them, and hid them in her House a whole Day. At Night having laid him to sleep drunk, she light a Candle, and brought out his Sword; but finding that her Brothers delayed to make their attempt upon him, she told them if they would not do the Work she would awake him. When they entered she pulled to the door, and barred it till her Husband was dispatched. Some say this hatred against her Husband was, because when he had imprisoned his Page a beautiful Youth, and she interceded for his release, he brought him out, and cut his Throat; others, for that having no Children by her, he had sent to *Thebes*, and engaged himself to *Jason's* Wife. These are the reports

that

that go about concerning his Wife's conspiracy. *Tisiphonus* the eldest Brother held the Government from the time of the Conspiracy till the writing of this Book. And now having related the Affairs of *Thessaly* that were in *Jason's* time, and from his death till the Government of *Tisiphonus*, I return from my Digression.

Afterwards *Archidamus* who was going with Recruits to *Leuctra*, returned home with the Army. The *Athenians* considering that the *Peloponnesians* thought they were still obliged to serve the *Lacedemonians* in the Wars, and that the *Lacedemonians* were now in the same condition they had formerly reduced the *Athenians* to; sent about to all the Cities that would come into the League proposed by the King. When they met together, they made a Decree that those who were to come into the Treaty should take this Oath. *I will maintain the Peace prescribed by the King, as also the Decrees of the Athenians, and their Allies. If any one shall make War against any of these Cities that have sworn to this Peace, I will oppose them with my utmost Power.* All the rest were very well satisfied with the Oath; only the *Eleans* objected, that

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the Cities of the *Marganeans*, *Scylluntians*, and *Triphylians* might not be free ; because these were their Towns. But the *Athenians* and the rest decreeing that pursuant to the King's Letters, both the lesser and greater Cities should be free ; they deputed some to go and swear the Chief Magistrates in every City. And all took the Oath except the *Eleans*. Then the *Mantineans* as being absolutely free, meeting together , decreed to make *Mantineia* one Town, and to wall it ; but the *Lacedemonians* thinking it an hard case that this should be done without their Consent, sent *Agessilaus* thither, who was said to have a kind of Fatherly care over them. When he arrived the Chiefmen told him they would not assemble the People for him : but bid him tell them his Business. He promised them if they would forbear fortifying at present , he would procure that the Wall should be built with little charge, and with the approbation of the *Lacedemonians*. But being told they could not possibly desist because it was decreed by the Community, *Agessilaus* went way in an heat, though he thought a War would not be declared against them , by reason the Peace was made for Liberty. Some of the *Arcadian* Cities sent men to the

the *Mantineans* to assist them in carrying on the Wall, and the *Eleans* contributed three Talents of Silver towards the Charge ^{563 L. 10 s.} of it. Thus stood Affairs with the *Mantineans*.

The *Tegeans* of *Callibius's* and *Proxenus's* Party consulted about assembling all the People of *Arcadia*, and that whatever was carried at the Convention of the States, should be Law unto all the Towns ; but *Stasippus's* Faction endeavoured that the Ancient Laws might be continued both in City and Country ; yet being overpowered in the Theaters , and concluding that if the People met , they should far out-do them in Numbers, took Arms ; which *Stasippus's* Faction seeing, they armed too, nor were they inferiour to them in Numbers. They fell to it, and killed *Proxenus* , with some others, the rest they put to flight , but did not pursue them, *Stasippus* being a man who desired not to shed the Blood of his Countreymen. *Callibius* and his men retiring to the Walls and Gates of *Mantineia*, when they saw the Enemy made no farther attempt upon them, got together in a Body and remained quiet, having sent before-hand to the *Mantineans* for Relief.

In the mean while they treated with *Stasippus* about a Reconciliation; but as soon as the *Mantineans* appeared to be on their March, some got upon the Wall, and perceiving them coming to their Assistance with all speed, cried out to them that they should make hast, and opened the Gates for them. *Stasippus's* Faction having notice of what had passed, sallied out of the Gate that leads to *Palantium*, and getting into *Diana's* Temple before the Pursuers over-took them, shut themselves in, and lay still. But the Enemy pursuing them, and getting on the top of the Temple, uncovered the Roof, and pelted those in the Temple with Tiles. They seeing themselves in this extremity, desired the others to desist, and they would come forth; but the Enemy having gotten them into their Clutches, bound them, and putting them into a Cart, carried them away to *Tegea*; where they passed Sentence on them, and the *Mantineans*, and put them all to death. Upon this the *Tegeans* of *Stasippus's* Faction being about eight hundred fled to *Lacedemon*.

Exsiliatus
Archon.

After this the *Lacedemonians* pursuant to the Peace, resolved forthwith to revenge both those that were killed, and them that were

were banished, by making War against the *Mantineans*, for that they contrary to the Treaty had invaded the *Tegeans* in an Hostile manner. Thereupon the *Ephori* decreed an Army to be raised, and gave the Command of it to *Agefilaus*. At this time the rest of the *Arcadians* were assembled at *Asea*; but the *Orcho-menians* refusing to incorporate with them, out of hatred to the *Mantineans*, and receiving the Mercenaries raised at *Corinth*, and commanded by *Polytropus*; the *Mantineans* remained at home to observe them. The *Heræans* and *Lepreans* assisted the *Lacedemonians* this Campaign against the *Mantineans*. *Agefilaus* as soon as he had an auspicious Sacrifice for his Expedition, passed directly into *Arcadia*, and surpris'd *Eutæa*, a Town in the Confines; where though he had found the Old men, Women, and Children at home in their Houses (those that were able to bear Arms being gone to the *Arcadian* Army) nevertheless he did no harm to the Town, but permitted their People to enjoy their Habitations, obliging the Soldiers to pay for what they had; and if any thing was taken from the Townsmen by force, when he came into the Town he searcht it out, and restored it them again. More-

over whilst he staid there in expectation of *Polytropus's* Mercenaries, he built up as much of the Wall as was necessary.

About this time the *Mantineans* making War upon the *Orchomenians*, the former retreated from their Walls with great difficulty and lost some men; yet when they retired to *Elymia*, and the *Orchomenian* Heavy-armed men pursued no further, *Polytropus's* Troops charged them very boldly. Thereupon the *Mantineans* considering that if they did not repulse them, many of their own men would be destroyed by the Enemy's Darts, faced about, and charged their Pursuers. In this Skirmish *Polytropus* was slain, and many more had been killed in the flight, if the *Phliasian* Horse had not wheeled about, and stopt their further pursuit by attacking the *Mantineans* Rear.

After this Exploit the *Mantineans* returned home. *Agefilaus* hearing of it, and concluding that the *Orchomenian* Mercenaries would not joyn them, advanced in this manner; The first day he supped in the Territory (of *Tegea*) and the day after passing into that of *Mantineia*, he encamped under the Hills that are to the Westward of the City. There he burnt the Countrey, and destroyed the

Fields.

Fields. The *Arcadians* that were assembled at *Asea*, got into *Tegea* by Night; and next Day *Agefilaus* encamped within twenty Furlongs of *Mantineia*. The *Arcadians* coming with a strong Body of Heavy-armed men from *Tegea*, and having reached the Hills betwixt *Mantineia* and that Place, they were very earnest to joyn the *Mantineans*, because the *Argives* had not sent all their Forces thither. Some there were who perswaded *Agefilaus* to fall upon them separately; but he fearing that whilst he attacked them, the *Mantineans* out of the Town would fall upon his Flank and Rear, concluded it would be best to let them joyn, and then if they would fight, they should have a fair and open Field.

By this time the *Arcadians* were united, and *Agefilaus* as he was sacrificing before the Camp by day-break, discovered the Targetiers from *Orchomenus*, together with the *Phliasian* Horse, who marched in the Night by *Mantineia*: whereupon *Agefilaus* was obliged to return to his Arms, and the rest to run to their Ranks. In the Evening he encamped undiscovered in a Vally surrounded by the Mountains on the back of the *Mantinean* Territory. Next day as he was sacrificing at

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the Head of the Army, he discovered the *Mantineans* assembled on the top of those Hills that overlookt his Rear, upon which he resolved to draw his men out of the Valley, but fearing if he marcht from thence, that the Enemy would fall upon his Rear, he lay still, and commanded those in the Rear to face about, to direct their Arms towards the Enemy, and to move to the right towards their Leader. By this means he both drew his Troops out of the strait Pass, and re-inforc'd his Battalion, which when he had doubled, he marcht into the Plain in that Order and there extended it nine or ten deep.

The *Mantineans* came out no more, because the *Eleans* their Confederates had perswaded them not to fight till the *Thebans* had joyned them, being assured of their coming, for that they had borrowed ten Talents of them for this expedition. The *Arcadians* when they heard this kept themselves within the Walls of *Mantineia*. *Agésilau*s though he had a great desire to march away with the Army, it being in the midst of Winter, yet he stay'd three days in the Neighbourhood of *Mantineia*, that he might not be thought to hasten his departure for fear of the Enemy. On the fourth day he refreshed his Army early,

x87. l.

early, and began his march, making shew as if he would encamp in the Place where he did when he first set out from *Eutæa*. But when none of the *Arcadians* appeared, he, though very much belated, march'd with diligence to *Eutæa*, intending to depart with the Heavy-armed men before the Enemies fires were discovered, that none might say he fled, whereby he seem'd to have allayed the consternation his Countreymen were in before, because though he had entered *Arcadia*, and burned it, yet none would undertake to fight him. As soon as he arriv'd in *Laconia* he sent home his *Spartans*, and dismissed the Neighbouring Troops to go to their respective Cities.

The *Arcadians* receiving Intelligence, that *Agésilau*s was marcht out of their Countrey, and had disbanded his Army, got together in a strong Body, & fell upon the *Heræans*, for refusing to incorporate with them, for invading *Arcadia* with the *Lacedemonians*, for firing their Houses, and cutting down the Trees in their Incurfions. But when there came News that the *Thebans* were coming to relieve *Mantineia*, they left *Heræa* and joyned them: after the Armies were united, the *Thebans* thinking all was well, because

because they had succoured their Allies, and no Enemy appeared in the Countrey, prepared for their departure. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans* persuaded the *Thebans* to march directly into *Laconia*, making ostentation of their Numbers, and magnifying their Army, for all the *Bœotians* were very well disciplined, and elated with their Victory at *Leuctra*. There followed them in this Expedition their Subjects the *Phoceans*, and Forces out of all the Cities of *Eubœa*, both the *Locri*, and *Horfe*, and *Targetiers* out of *Theffaly*.

*Acarnani-
ans, Hera-
cleans, and
Melians.*

They therefore well informing the *Thebans* of the Desolation which was in *Laconia*, entreated them, that they would not by any means march away before they had made an Incurfion into that Countrey. The *Thebans* indeed gave them the hearing, but confidered on the other hand, that *Laconia* was very difficult to be invaded, thinking there might be Guards fet to defend thofe Places which were moft eafie to be paffed. For *Ifcholaus* was at *Ius* in the Territory of *Sciris* with a Garrifon of four hundred ftout men, confifting partly of half Slaves, and partly of the Exiles of *Tegea*. There was another Garrifon too near *Leuctra* beyond *Maleatis*.
Moreover

Moreover the *Thebans* confidered that the *Lacedemonians* would foon unite, and that they would fight no where better than upon their own Ground. Upon all thefe Confiderations they were not very forward to march to *Lacedemon*; but afterwards when fome came from *Caryæ*, and reported the Countrey was in no pofture of Defence, proffering to guide the Army, and offering themfelves to be cut in pieces if they impofed upon them; There came alfo feveral of the Neighbourhood to invite and to inform them, that if they did but appear in the Countrey, they would revolt, and added, that the Neighbours were lately fummoned by the *Spartans*, but would not affift them. The *Thebans* hearing all thefe Reports, and from feveral hands, were over-perfwaded, and fell into *Laconia* about *Caryæ*, as did the *Arcadians* near *Ius* in the Territory of *Sciris*. Though if *Ifcholaus* had but gone before, and fecured the difficult Paffes, twas faid, none could have entered on that fide; but he defigning to joyn thofe of *Ius*, tarried for them at that Village, where the *Arcadians* came upon them in great Numbers; and here *Ifcholaus*'s men facing about, and charging the Enemy, got the better. But at laft
when

when those on the Houses threw their Lances; and darted their Javelins both at the Rear and Flank, *Ischolaus* and all the rest fell, except any might escape undistinguished.

The *Arcadians* having performed this Exploit, marcht towards *Caryæ* to the *Thebans*, who having heard of their Success, came down into the Enemies Countrey the more boldly, and immediately destroyed and burnt *Sellasia*. When they came into the Champion Countrey they encamped in a Grove of *Apollo's*, but made no attempt the day following to pass over the Bridge into the City, because they found that the Enemies heavy-arm'd men were in the Temple of *Minerva Alea*, but left the *Eurotas* on the right, and marcht on plundering, destroying and burning the Houses which were richly furnisht. The Women in the City, having never seen the face of an Enemy before could not endure so much as to behold the smoke. The men though their fewness appeared, being posted in several Places, nevertheless defended the City though it had no Walls. The Magistrates thought it convenient to proclaim to the Slaves, that if they would form themselves into Companies, and come into the Service,

vice, as many as did should have Security to be free. 'Tis said, there were above six thousand listd in an instant, so that when they were armed, and made so great an appearance they struck a terrour into the *Spartans* themselves. But when the Mercenaries from *Orchomenus* staid there, and the *Phliansians*, *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Pellenians*, with some Forces from other Cities came to their assistance, they then less dreaded those new raised men.

The *Theban* Army advancing towards *Amyclæ*, passed the *Eurotas* there, and forthwith they cut down as many Trees as they could where they encamped, and placing them before their Camp guarded it therewith. The *Arcadians* took different measures, for they left their Arms, and went to plundering. Three or four days after, all the *Theban* and *Elean* Horse, together with the *Phoceans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians* came to the * Place, and the Temple of † *Neptune*, which the *Lacedæmonian* Horse confronted, though they were but a contemptible Number; and having placed an Ambuscade of three hundred men in the Temple of the *Tyn-daridæ*, they sallied out at the same time that the Horse advanced. The Enemy never

* Ἰππὸ-
δρόμου.
† Γεω-
χῆς.

never stood them, but gave Ground which several of the Foot seeing gave ground too. After the *Lacedemonians* had given over the pursuit, the *Thebans* halted and encamped again; but it being thought somewhat too dangerous an Adventure to attempt the City a second time, the Army decamped, and marched towards *Helos*, and *Gytheum*. The Cities which had no Walls they burnt, and attacked *Gytheum*, where the *Lacedemonians* had a Yard for building of Ships, three days together. Some of the Neighbourhood, who served the *Thebans*, fell upon the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Athenians* hearing of these Passages, and being very solicitous what measures to take concerning the *Lacedemonian* Affairs, called an Assembly by order of the Senate, at which the *Lacedemonians*, and the rest of their remaining Friends were present. The *Lacedemonians* spoke all of them much to the same purpose, putting the *Athenians* in mind, that both States had assisted each other in the most Critical times with happy Success, and shew how they drove the XXX Tyrants out of *Athens*, and that on the contrary the *Athenians* had readily assisted them, when the *Messenians* besieged them; adding the good Success when both acted jointly,

Aratus, Ocyllus, Phalarax, Etymocles, Olynthens.

jointly, and commemorating how they with their united Forces had driven the *Barbarian* out of *Greece*, reminding them also that the *Athenians* were chosen Generals at sea, and Trustees for the publick

The Athenians were entrusted with a Fond of Money raised by the Greeks to carry on a War against the Persian. Thucid. lib.

mony by the advice of the *Lacedemonians*, and on the other hand the *Lacedemonians* by the directions of the *Athenians* with Universal consent were chosen Generals at Land. One of the Ambassadors made a Speech to this purpose. *If both the States, My Lords of Athens, joyn together, there is hopes that the Thebans, as was formerly discoursed, may be totally ruined.* The *Athenians* gave not much heed to what he said, but such a kind of muttering as this ran through the Assembly, how that they said so now, though when they were in prosperity, they were our bitter Adversaries. Yet the most material Argument the *Lacedemonians* were thought to urge, was, That when the *Lacedemonians* had subdued the *Athenians*, and the *Thebans* would have razed the City, the former hindred them from putting their Design in Execution. So the general Discourse was, that they should have Succors pursuant to the Treaty. For the *Arcadians*, and their Confederates did not make War upon

upon the *Lacedemonians* for any Injury they had done, but because they assisted the *Tegeans* against whom the *Mantineans* had employed their Arms contrary to the Treaty. Upon these Debates a Clamour ran through the Assembly, some saying that the *Mantineans* did well in assisting *Proxenus's* Party who were murdered by *Stasippus's* Faction, and others that they had broke the Treaty by making of War against the *Tegeans*. Whiles the Assembly were debating the Matter, *Cliteles* the *Corinthian* rose up and spoke.

Cliteles's
Speech.

Perhaps, My Lords of Athens, it may be a Question who were the Aggressors: Yet can any one lay to our charge, that we since the Conclusion of the Peace, have attempted any Place, made any Depredations, or ravaged any Countrey? Though the *Thebans* have invaded ours, and cut down the Trees, fired our Houses, plundered our Goods, and drave away our Cattle. How then can you satisfie your Oath, if you do not succour us, being we are so manifestly injured, and the Ratification of the Treaty was by your procurement. The *Athenians* heard him with Applause; he having offered what was equitable and just. After him *Patrocles* the *Phliasian* rose up and spake. I

I suppose, My Lords of Athens, 'tis *Patrocles's* Speech. manifest to all, that when the *Thebans* have ruined the *Lacedemonians*, in the next place they will attack you; for they are sensible that you are the only obstacle, which hinder them from becoming Lords of all Greece. Seeing therefore Affairs stand thus, you will in my opinion do your selves as much Service as the *Lacedemonians*, by making War upon them. For I imagine it will be much more troublesome to have the *Thebans* who border upon you, and are ill affected, to be Lords of Greece, than to have your Enemies at a farther distance. And you will defend your selves with more advantage, now whilst there remain some Allies, than if they be ruined, and you alone be forced to fight it out with the *Thebans*. If any fear that the *Lacedemonians*, if they escape this time will create you trouble hereafter, consider that we need not apprehend the growth of those we have deserved well of, but those we have injured. Moreover you should take this into consideration, that States as well as private Persons ought to make Friends, when in a flourishing condition, that if they be reduced to a strait, they may expect assistance from those they have obliged. Providence has at this time put a signal opportunity

tunity into your hands, and if you will succor the Lacedemonians in this their distress, you will for ever make them your most faithful Friends. Nor will you have a few witnesses of your Benefaction, the Confederates and Enemies, nay the whole World shall be eye-witnesses hereof, the Gods themselves who have in prospect all things past, present and to come, shall be Spectators of it from Heaven. Nothing of this shall be forgotten, for if the Lacedemonians prove ungrateful to you, who will assist them at any time hereafter? though in Charity we ought to hope the best of them, and that they won't be disingenuous. For there is no People have had greater Principles of Honour than they, nor more carefully shun'd the appearance of baseness. Besides, consider if ever any danger from the Barbarian shall threaten our Countrey, whom can you confide in more, or would rather chuse for your Seconds, than those who being posted at the Thermopylæ, chose rather to die upon the Spot than live, and let the Barbarian enter Greece? Ought not we therefore in Justice to do them all the good Offices we can, who have acquitted themselves with us with so much bravery, and in all probability will do the like for the future? Nor
would

would you loose your labour in shewing them respect upon the Allies account, for assure your selves, that these who continue their faithful Friends in distress, will in honour render you the like piece of Service in their Name. If these States of ours that would engage in this danger, seem inconsiderable, yet by the conjunction of yours, they will make up a Formidable Power. Heretofore, My Lords of Athens, I had your City in admiration, when I heard all who were either injured or had any apprehensions of their Enemies fled hither for refuge, and obtained the relief they sought. Now I hear no longer, but am present and see, that the Lacedemonians, the most famous Nation in the World, and their faithful Allies are come hither to implore your Assistance. I my self see the Lacedemonians, who formerly could not be prevailed upon by the Thebans utterly to destroy you, now begging of you not to suffer the Lacedemonians to be destroyed, who preserved you. 'Tis to the Honour of your Ancestors, that they would not permit those Argives to lie unburied, who perished at the Citadel of Thebes, it will be much more to your Fame, not to let the Lacedemonians yet living either to be oppressed, or destroyed. This was honourably

done by you, when you curbed the Insolence of Euristheus to preserve Hercules's Posterity; but is it not more honourable to save not only the Princes, but the whole Republick? and this most honourable of all, if when the Lacedemonians preserved you by a word of their mouth, for you in return to expose your Lives in their Defence? If it be matter of so great joy for us only to speak in the behalf of such Gallant men, it will be thought a generous part in you, to assist them with your Arms, and since you have been several times Allies and Enemies, to remember rather the good Offices than the Injuries received from them; whereby you will make a return; not only in their Name, but in the Name of all Greece, to those who have acquitted themselves with so much Gallantry in it's Defence.

The Athenians deliberating upon the Matter, would not endure to hear the opposite Party, but resolved that the Lacedemonians should be assisted with their whole Force, and chose Iphicrates their General, who having a lucky Sacrifice, commanded his men to sup in the Academy, whither several arrived before him. Soon after he began his March, and the whole Army followed as going
upon

upon some glorious Expedition. But when he came to Corinth, he remained there some Days; for which delay the Army blamed him, yet when he began to march again, the Army followed him with that alacrity, that they would readily have attacked Argos it self, if he had led them against it: In the mean while the Arcadians, Argives, Eleans, and several of the Enemies, who were Borderers left the Service, going about ravaging and spoyling what ever they could light on. The Thebans, and the rest were for returning home, because they saw their Army wasted, and their Provisions grow daily scarcer, some being spent, others taken from them, some squandred away, and others burnt. Besides it was Winter, and all desired to return back to their own Countrey. So Iphicrates marcht with the Athenians out of Corinth at the same time they left Laconia.

I find no fault with his Conduct in other Expeditions; but I observe all he did in this, was either done to no purpose, or with no advantage. For when he undertook to defend Oneum, and cut off the Retreat of the Bæotians, he left the most important Pass at Cenchreæ unguard-

ed ; and sent all the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* Horse upon the Scout to discover whether the *Thebans* had passed the *Oncum*, though a great many could see no more than a few, and a small Party if they were obliged to retreat, could retire with more security than a great Body. Is it not therefore a great piece of Imprudence to send out a Party, which is weaker than the Forces of the Enemy? For being the Horse were many, they covered a great deal of Ground; and when they were obliged to retire, they fell upon several rough Places, so that no less than twenty of them perisht, and the *Thebans* marched away at their Liberty.

XENOPHON'S History

OF THE

Affairs of Greece.

LIB. VII.

THE CONTENTS.

A Treaty betwixt the Lacedemonians and the Athenians. The Rise of the Arcadians under Lycomedes. The Thebans projecting to enslave Greece, send Pelopidas to treat with the King of Persia. The signal Fidelity of the Phliassians to the Lacedemonians. Euphron the Tyrant of Sicyon assassinated. The Battel at Mantinea wherein Epaminondas was slain.

Olymp. 103.
Nausigenes
Archon.

THe Year following, the Plenipotentiaries of the Lacedemonians and Confederates came to Athens, to treat of an Alliance between the Lacedemonians and the Athenians. And several as well of the Allies, as Athenians, declaring it ought to be made upon equal and like Terms, Procles the Phliasian made this Speech:

My Lords of Athens; since you have thought fit to make the Lacedemonians your Friends, you ought, in my opinion, to consider how this Alliance may be made lasting. If therefore we make a League that may be advantageous to both sides, such an one, in all probability will be longest kept. There only remains the point about the Command in Chief to be settled; in other matters we are almost agreed. The States have already resolved, that you should command by Sea, and the Lacedemonians by Land. Which Partition seems to me, not to have been the contrivance of human wit, but the Result of the Divine Wisdom, and the disposition of Providence. For first of all ye have a place exceedingly well contriv'd by nature for it, and many Towns lie near your City that depend upon the Commerce at Sea, all
which

which are of less power than yours. You have Ports too, without which your Naval Forces would be of no use, and many Gallies: 'Tis a Maxim also of your State to maintain a powerful Fleet. Moreover, the Trades which belong to Shipping are all peculiar to you, who far excel other Nations in the Art of Navigation. Most of you subsist by the Sea; so that at the same time you follow your own private occasions, and gain experience in the Maritime Discipline. Nor can any set out so numerous a Fleet of Gallies as you, which is of no small moment towards the obtaining the Command in Chief. For all desire to join with them that are most powerful, and Heaven has conferr'd that Happiness on you: for tho you have had so many, and so great Engagements at Sea, yet you have seldom miscarried, but commonly been victorious; so that there can hardly be any Enterprise in which the Allies will refuse to engage with you. Consider then that this is a matter of the greatest moment and consequence to you; for tho the Lacedemonians have made war upon you so many years, and possess'd themselves of your Country, yet they never endanger'd your Ruine, till Heaven gave them the Sovereignty of the Sea; and then they soon brought

brought you under subjection. 'Tis plain therefore your preservation depends wholly on the Sea; and since you are so fitted for it by nature, how can you in honor suffer the Lacedemonians to command there? For first they acknowledge themselves less experienced in Naval Affairs than you are; and besides, the dangers that they run in Sea-fights are not equal to yours; for they adventure only the loss of their Men on board their Gallies; but you fight for your Wives, your Children, and your whole Country. This is the state of your Affairs; and that of the Lacedemonians, is as follows.

First, they inhabit an in-land Country; and therefore, tho they be shut out from Sea, they can subsist well enough on the Land. For this reason they are trained up immediately from their Child-hood in the Land-service; and by their exact Discipline, which is very material, become as powerful at Land as you at Sea. Moreover, they can as soon draw out a potent Army, as you can equip a Fleet; which in all probability will be a strong inducement to the Confederates to join with them. Again, as Heaven has given them success by Land, so it has to you at Sea; for of the many Battels they have fought, they have been
victorious

victorious in most, and miscarried but in few. You may understand then by their Achievements, that the care of the Land-service is no less necessary for them, than that of Sea for you. For tho you have made war with them at Sea these several years, and beat them several times, yet you did nothing considerable towards the subduing them, till once they were vanquish'd by Land, and then their Wives, their Children, and all their Country were in danger. Would it not then be an hard case for them to resign up their command at Land to others, who are capable of discharging it so well themselves? I therefore have declared my self to be of the opinion of the Senate, as judging it most advantageous for both sides; and may all your Counsels be crowned with success, whilst you consult the common interest of us all.

Thus he. His Oration was highly commended both by the Athenians, and all the Lacedemonians there present. Then Cephisodotus rising up, came forth into the midst of the Assembly, and spoke,

My Lords of Athens, Don't you perceive your selves to be imposed upon? and if you will please to hear me, I'll soon
make

make it appear in what manner. You forth shall command at Sea, and the Lacedemonians your Confederates will perhaps find Captains of Gallies, and Soldiers that are Lacedemonians: but the Seamen shall be either Slaves or Hirelings; and these are the men that you must command. But when they shall summon you to joyn with them in any Expedition by Land, you must send them Horse and heavy-arm'd men: so that they shall command you your selves; but you only their Slaves, and such kind of pitiful Fellows. Answer me then, said he, you Timocrates of Lacedemon, did you not affirm but just now, that you came to treat with us upon equal terms? I did so, said Timocrates. Is there any thing then, said Cephisodotus, more equal than that we should command in our turns both at Sea and Land: and if there be any advantage in the command at Sea, that ye should participate of it, as well as we of that at Land?

The Athenians hearing this, were persuaded to alter their opinion, and decreed, that each side should command five days alternately. Afterwards when they and their Confederates made War against Corinth, 'twas thought convenient to guard the Mount Oneum with their joint

joint Forces; so that when the Thebans and their Allies march'd thither, they posted themselves in several parts of the Mount, and the Lacedemonians with the Pellenians, in those places which were easiest to be assaulted. When the Thebans came within thirty Furlongs of the Enemy, they encamped on the Plain, and computing what time they should spend in their March from their first setting out, they advanced towards the Lacedemonians by twilight. Nor were they mistaken in their time; for they fell upon them and the Pellenians just as the Night-Watch ended, and every one was raising himself out of his Bed. There the Thebans being provided, fell upon those that were not; those in order, upon the disordered. As soon as those that escaped the Action retired to the adjacent Hill, the Lacedemonian Collonel might have taken what heavy-arm'd Men, and Targetiers of the Confederates he would, and by their assistance have possess'd himself of the place; for Provisions might easily have been conveyed from Cenchreæ thither; but he neglected this opportunity. For whilst the Thebans were in suspense whether they should march down the way to Sicyon, or retreat back again, the

the Colonel made Truce, though most people thought 'twas more for the *Theban's* advantage than his own: after this he marched off with his Army.

The *Thebans* march'd severally down the Hill, and having joyned their Confederates, immediately attacked *Sicyon* and *Pellene*: Afterwards they entred *Epidaurus*, burnt all the Country, and marched back greatly scorning and contemning their Enemy; and when they approach'd near *Corinth*, they run full speed up to the Gates that look towards *Phlius*, with an intention to break in, if they found them open; but some of the Light-arm'd men falling out of the Town, met their Body not above four hundred foot from the Walls, and mounting upon the Monuments, and Eminent Places, killed a great many of the foremost of them with their Spears and Lances, routing and pursuing them about three or four Furlongs. After the Action, the *Corinthians* dragging the dead bodies nearer the Walls, restored them upon Truce, and erected a Trophy: Upon this the *Lacedemonian* Allies took heart again.

About this time there arrived Auxiliaries from *Dionysius* to the *Lacedemonians*, with
above

above twenty Gallies that brought on board about fifty *Celtic* and *Iberian* horse. Next day the *Thebans* and their Confederates entred the Country in an Hostile manner, covering the Plain as far as the Sea and the Hills near the City, and destroyed all before them. The *Athenian* and *Corinthian* Cavalry, when they discovered the strength, and numbers of the Enemy, did not come very near them: Yet *Dionysius's* Horse though a few in number advanced in small Parties, and threw their Lances, but the Enemy falling upon them, they retreated, and then advancing again, darted their Lances as before: But when any Charged them as they were lighting off their Horses, and rested themselves, they nimbly mounted again and retreated: And when they were pursued any distance from the main Body, they attacked their Pursuers, and did great execution upon them with their Lances, compelling the whole Army both to Advance and Retreat, according to their Motions. The *Thebans* returned home not many days after, and so did the whole Army. *Dionysius's* Troops made an attempt upon *Sicyon*, and beat the *Sicyonians* in a fair Field, killing about seventy, and took the Fort *Deras* by
Storm.

Storm. These were the first Auxiliaries sent by *Dionysus*; who after they had performed these Exploits, failed home to *Syracuse*.

The *Thebans* and those that had Revolted from the *Lacedemonians*, did every thing till this time by general consent, and the *Thebans* wholly managed the War: But there arose one *Lycomedes* a *Mantinean*, in Birth inferiour to none, Wealthy and Ambitious; who puff'd up the *Arcadians* with high Conceits, telling them, *That Peloponnesus was only their Country, and they its first Inhabitants: That they were the most numerous Nation of the Greeks, and men of very able bodies; alledging this as a Proof of their Prowess, that when there was occasion for Auxiliaries, none were preferred before them. Moreover that the Lacedemonians never attacked Athens without the Arcadians; nor had the Thebans come now against Lacedemon, had they not been supported by them. Wherefore if you are wise, says he, no longer follow others Command, for before when you served the Lacedemonians, you advanced them, and if you still inconsiderately engage with the Thebans, and don't seek to command in your turns, you will perhaps find them Lacedemonians*

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The *Arcadians* hearing this, became elated, and treated *Lycomedes* with extraordinary Respect, esteeming him the only man amongst them: Infomuch that they chose such to be Officers as he nominated, whereby the *Arcadians* became very great: For when the *Argives* entred *Epidaurus*, & their Retreat was cut off by *Chabrias's* Mercenaries, the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; the *Arcadians* opened them a Passage, and brought them off, though they suffered as well by the difficulty of the Passes as the opposition of the Enemy. They also attempted *Asina* in *Laconia*, and mastering the Garison, destroyed the Suburbs thereof, and killed *Peranor* a *Spartan* Colonel: When ever they had a design to march, neither Night nor Storm, nor length of way, nor unpassable Mountains hindred them; so that they esteemed themselves at this time the hardiest Souldiers in the World.

For these Reasons the *Thebans* began to envy, and to be colder in their kindness towards them: But the *Eleans* demanding back of the *Arcadians* those Towns that the *Lacedemonians* took from them, observed that they not only slighted what they said, but magnified the *Triphylians*, and the others that revolted

D d from

from them, because they pretended themselves to be *Arcadians*: and hereupon the *Eleans* also began to be ill affected to them. Thus the Allies entertaining an high opinion of themselves, *Philiscus* the *Abydenian* came with a great Sum of Money from *Ariobarzanes*, and summoned the *Thebans* their Allies, and the *Lacedemonians* to *Delphos* about a Peace. When they came there, they did not communicate their Business to *Apollo*, but debated it amongst themselves. At last, when the *Thebans* would not yield, that *Messene* should remain in the hands of the *Lacedemonians*, *Philiscus* raised a great Body of Mercenaries to assist them.

Polyzelus
Archon.

Whilst these things were in agitation, there arrived a second Supply from *Dionysius*: The *Athenians* declaring it expedient that they should fall into *Thessaly* against the *Thebans*, the *Lacedemonians* would have had them landed in *Laconia*, and this latter Opinion was approved by the Council of War: Afterwards *Dionysius's* Auxiliaries sailed round to *Lacedemon*, and *Archidamus* taking the Field with them and his *Spartans*, storm'd *Carryæ*, and put the Garison to the Sword. From thence he went directly to *Parrhasia* a Town in *Arcadia*, and destroyed the Country

Country about it. But when the *Arcadians* and *Argives* came with Succors, he Retreated and Encamped upon the Hills, that overlookt *Midea*: Whilst he was there, *Cissidas* the General of *Dionysius's* Forces declared, that the time limited for his stay was expired, and so departed home by the way of *Sparta*: But the *Messenians* cutting off his Retreat at a narrow Pass, he sent to *Archidamus*, and demanded Relief, who accordingly succoured him. When they came to the turning that goes to *Euctresii*, the *Arcadians* and *Argives* entred *Laconia*, designing to cut off his Retreat homeward; but *Archidamus* drawing up in a Level at the meeting of the Roads that lead to *Euctresii* and *Midea*, came as they say, to the head of his Troops, and thus encouraged them.

Dear Country-men! Let us be brave, *Archidamus's* and look forward, that we may deliver our Speech to Country to Posterity in such a condition as his Soul- we receiv'd it from our Ancestors: Nor diers. let us any longer be a Reproach to the present Age, since in former times we have been the most Renown'd of all the Greeks.

'Tis reported, that when he had ended his Speech, it thundred, and an auspicious Lightning shone about him in a clear Sky.

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There hapned also to be on the right Wing a Grove, and an Image of *Hercules*, from whom he was said to be descended. Hereby there was raised such Courage and Alacrity in the Army, that the Commanders found some difficulty to restrain the Souldiers from pushing forward. *Archidamus* immediately leading them on, a small Party of the Enemy received them at push of Pike, some whereof were slain, the rest fled, many of them being kill'd by the Horse, and several by the *Celtes*.

When the Fight was over, he erected a Trophy, and dispatch'd *Demoteles* the Herald home with the News of a great Victory, how that not one of the *Lacedemonians* fell, but that the Enemy lost a great many: When News hereof came to *Sparta*, they say, that *Agessilaus* first wept, and then the Senate and *Ephori*. So common are Tears both to Joy and Grief. The *Thebans* and *Eleans* growing weary of the *Arcadians* Arrogance were not less pleas'd at this their ill Success, than the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Thebans* continually studying how they might become Lords of *Greece*, thought if they sent to the King of *Persia*, they might by his assistance compass their Design.

Design. Whereupon under pretence that *Euthycles* the *Lacedemonian* was with the King, they exhorted the Confederates to send an Embassie, and accordingly *Pelopidas* went from the *Thebans*, *Antiochus* the Champion from the *Arcadians*, *Archidamus* from the *Eleans*, and in company of these ——— the *Argive*. On the other hand, the *Athenians* perceiving their Design, sent *Timagoras* and *Leo*: After they came to *Persia*, *Pelopidas* ingratiated himself with the King more then all of them; for he had to alledge, that of all the *Greeks*, the *Thebans* only assisted the *Persians* at the Battel of *Platææ*, and that they made War upon the King at no time after; and that the *Lacedemonians* had employed their Arms against them, because they would not joyn with *Agessilaus* against the King, nor suffer him to Sacrifice to *Diana* at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* Sacrificed before his Voyage to *Asia Minor*, when he took *Troy*: It also contributed much to the Honour of *Pelopidas*, that the *Thebans* had won the Battel at *Leuctra*, and ravaged *Laconia*: He added also, that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were defeated, because the *Thebans* had not assisted them. *Timagoras* the *Athenian* confirmed all that he said, and next to him

him had the greatest respect. *Pelopidas* being asked by the King what Articles he demanded; replied, That *Messene* should be restored to its Liberty by the *Lacedemonians*; that the *Athenians* should lay up their Fleet, and if they did not comply herewith, that War should be declar'd against them; and if any Town refused the Service, that the same should be first attacked.

These Articles being drawn, and read to the Ambassadors; *Leo* said in the Kings hearing, Before God, 'tis high time to seek another Friend in stead of the King: The King being inform'd by the Secretary what the *Athenian* said, brought out the Instrument again; adding, that if the *Athenians* knew any thing more equitable, they should come and signify it.

After the Ambassadors return'd each to their home, the *Athenians* put *Timogoras* to death, being accused by *Leo* for not making use of the same lodgings with him, and for holding Correspondence chiefly with *Pelopidas*. Of the other Ambassadors, *Archidamus* the *Elean* extolled the King, for preferring the *Eleans* before the *Arcadians*: But *Antiochus*, because the *Arcadians* Credit was low, refused the Presents, and reported to the

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* Ten thousand, that the King had store of Bakers, Cooks, Butlers and Porters; but for men to fight against *Greece*, tho' he had search'd for such, he could find none: Besides, said he, the abundance of Money was only for Ostentation sake, and that † Noble Plane-tree of Gold could not with its shadow shelter so much as a Grasshopper.

* The States of *Arcadia*.
† An allusion to the Golden Plane-tree presented to *Darius* by *Atys*.
Herod. in Pol.

After the *Thebans* had summoned all the Towns to come and hear the Kings Articles, the *Persian* that brought them shewed the Kings Seal, and read the Contents. The *Thebans* commanded those that intended to make an Alliance with the King and them, to ratifie it by Oath. The Deputies of the Cities made answer, That they were not sent to swear, but hear, desiring leave of them, that if any Oath was required, they might first consult their Principals. When *Lycomedes* the *Arcadian* alledged, That they ought not to meet at *Thebes*, but where the Seat of the War was: The *Thebans* were concern'd hereat, & gave out that he went about to break the League, because he would not sit in the Council; but departed, and drew all the Ambassadors of *Arcadia* after him: The rest refusing the Oath, the *Thebans* sent Ambassadors

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to

to every City, and exhorted them to swear to the Kings Instrument, thinking every City would be fearful of incurring both theirs and the Kings displeasure: But they coming first to *Corinth*, met with opposition there; the *Corinthians* telling them that they had no occasion to swear to a League with the King, and several other Cities followed their Example. Thus the Project of the *Thebans* and *Pelopidas* about an Universal Empire came to nothing.

But again, when *Epaminondas* designed to subdue the *Achæans*, and thereby render the *Arcadians* and their Allies more pliant; he resolved to march into *Achaia*; and in order thereunto, perswaded *Pisias* General of the *Argives*, to go and possess himself of the *Oneum* before-hand. *Pisias* understanding that the place was not carefully guarded by *Naucles* the Commander of the *Lacedemonian* Mercenaries, and *Timomachus* the *Athenian*; and having seven Days Provision, he with two thousand Heavy-armed men, took an Hill near *Cenchreæ* by Night. In the mean while, the *Thebans* and Allies under the Command of *Epaminondas*, passed the *Oneum*, and entred *Achaia*: The principal men joyned him; and he used his Authority

thority so far, that they were neither banished, nor the Government changed; but he took an Engagement from them to be faithful to the *Thebans*, and to serve them in their Wars. Upon this he returned home; yet the *Arcadians* and contrary Faction having accused him for having ordered the Government after the *Lacedemonian* Model; the *Thebans* thought fit to send Governors to the Cities of *Achaia*: who after their Arrival, with the help of the People displaced the Nobility, and constituted a Democracy. The Banished men being many, and making a strong Party, went speedily to the respective Cities, and possessed themselves thereof: and after they returned home, they stood Neuters no longer, but readily joyned with the *Lacedemonians*. The *Arcadians* what on the one side by the *Lacedemonians*, and what on the other side by the *Achæans*, were reduced to great straits.

Till this time *Sicyon* was govern'd by the *Achæan* Laws: Hereupon *Euphron* having the greatest Interest with the *Lacedemonians* of any of his Country-men, and being desirous to have the same with their Enemies, he acquainted the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, that if the chief men at *Sicyon*

Sicyon were really possessors of the Government, the City would soon side with the *Lacedemonians* again; but if a Democracy be set up, you know for certain, said he, that it will remain at your Devotion. If therefore you will stand by me, I will assemble the People, and will engage to keep the City firm to your Alliance. This I did before, said he, being offended at the Arrogance of the *Lacedemonians* as well as you; and desirous to free my self from slavery. This taking with the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, they went to him, and he presently assembled the People before them in the Market-place, *Declaring*, That the Government should be established upon equal Terms. After the people came together, he bid them choose whom they pleased for Generals: They chose *Euphron*, *Hippodamus*, *Cleander*, *Acrisus*, and *Lyfander*. Upon this he gave the Command of the Mercenaries to his Son *Adeas*, and displaced *Lisimenes* who had it before.

Soon after, *Euphron* by his Favours obliged several of the Mercenaries to be faithful to him, and hired more, sparing neither the Publick Treasure, nor the Consecrated Money: He banished those who inclin'd to the *Lacedemonians*, and seized

seized their Estates, murdering some of his Colleagues privately, and banishing others; whereby he got all into his power, and became a profest Tyrant: And that the Confederates might connive at him, he either brib'd them with money, or readily assisted them with the Mercenary Troops, when ever they made War; and thus all things went according to his mind. The *Argives* fortified *Tricranum* beyond the Temple of *Juno*, in the Territory of *Phlius*, and the *Sicyonians* *Thyamia* in their Frontiers: whereby the *Phlians* were distressed, and wanted Necessaries, yet they still persisted in their League with the *Lacedemonians*.

Now whereas all Writers take notice of what great Cities do, I think the many and glorious Actions of this small one are as worthy observation.

When the *Lacedemonians* were at the greatest height, the *Phlians* were their Allies, and though they were overthrown in the Battel of *Leuctra*, several of their Country-men revolting, the Slaves falling off, most of the Confederates deserting, and in a manner all Greece making War upon them, yet the *Phlians* continued faithful: And though they were engaged

* Corinthi-
ans, Epi-
daurians,
Ægeanians,
Hermione-
ans, Halie-
nians, Sicy-
onians, and
Pellemians.

engaged in a War with the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, the most Potent of the *Peloponnesians*, nevertheless they assisted them; and though it fell to their lot to come the last of all the * Confederates to *Prasæ*, yet they never forsook the *Lacedemonians*: Nay, when the General of the *Mercenaries* left them, and departed with those who marched on before, they would not turn back again; but (the Enemy being at *Amyclæ*) procured a Commander at *Prasæ*, and got as well as they could to *Sparta*; for which the *Lacedemonians* amongst other honours they did them, made them a Present of an Ox for a welcom.

After the Enemy retired out of *Laconia*, the *Argives* being offended at the *Phliasians* for their good Service to the *Lacedemonians*, fell into the Territory of *Phlius* with all their Forces, and ravaged the Country: yet for all that the *Phliasians* would not desist. But when the *Argives* destroyed all before them, the *Phliasian* horse being but 60, came upon them and following them close, attacked and defeated their Horse, with the Companies that were placed in the Rear to secure their Retreat: And though they killed but a few, yet they erected a Trophy

phy in view of the *Argives*, and more they could not have done, had they slain them all. Again, when the *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates kept *Oneum*, the *Thebans* came with intent to pass it; and as the *Eleans* and *Arcadians* were marching through *Nemea* to joyn them, the *Phliasian* Exiles came and brought News, that if they would but appear before *Phlius*, they might take it: When this was agreed on, the Exiles, and about six hundred others came by Night, and lay with their Ladders under the Wall, then the Watchmen discovering the Approach of the Enemy from the *Tricranum*, the Towns-men took the Alarm: In the mean while, those who were to betray the place, made a sign to them that lay under the Wall, to mount their Ladders, which they did, and seized the Arms that the Guards had left, and fell upon the Warders, who were ten in number, for one out of every 5 was appointed to ward; one whereof they killed as he lay asleep, and another as he fled to the Temple of *Juno*. The rest seeing this, leaped confusedly off the Walls into the City, and the Assailants made themselves Masters of the *Citadel* without any opposition. Upon the noise that was made

made, the Citizens came with Relief, and then the Enemy at first went out of the *Citadel*, and fought before the Gates that lead to the City; but afterwards being encompassed by the Citizens, they retired back again to the *Citadel*, and the Heavy-arm'd men falling upon them, immediately cleared the middle of the place. The Enemy remounting the Walls, darted their Javelins, and galled those below, but they on the ground defended themselves, and fought at the foot of the Ladders. Afterwards the Townsmen recovering several of the *Turrets*, had a very hot Engagement with the Enemy, who being pressed hard with the Courage and Valour of the Citizens, were penn'd up in a little room.

In the mean while, the *Arcadians* and *Argives* invested the City, and threw down the highest part of the *Citadel* Wall. Some of the Townsmen who were in the *Tower* darted at the Enemy upon the Wall, others at those who were scaling without, and the rest at those who were possess'd of the *Turrets*; and getting Fire out of the Huts carried Wips of Hay that was cut in the *Citadel*, and set fire to the Enemy in the *Turrets*: Whereupon some of them leapt down for fear, and

and those on the Walls were wounded and thrown down by the Townsmen. After the Enemy began to give ground, they immediately quitted the *Cittadel*, and forthwith the horse marcht out after them; when the Enemy discovered them, they retired, and left their Ladders, and their Dead behind them, together with some that were maimed, but yet alive. There were slain of the Enemy which fought within the *Citadel*, and were intercepted without the Walls, no less than eighty. There you might see the men Congratulating one another, the Women bringing them drink, & all shedding tears together for their great Deliverance; at last every one present wept for joy.

The Year after the *Argives* and *Arcadians* attacked *Phlius* with their whole Forces. The reason why they lay so hard upon the *Phlians*, was partly because they were provoked by them, and partly because they lay betwixt them both, and thereby were continually in hopes of reducing them by want of Provisions. The Horse, and the chosen men of the *Phlians* supported by the *Athenians*, first attacked the Cavalry at the pass of a River, and defeated them, compelling them to retire the rest of the day into the Mountains;

Κλαυδίους.
Cephisodorus. Ar-
chon.

tains; as it were, taking care that they might not trample down their Friends Corn in the Valleys. Again the Governour of *Sicyon* made another Attempt upon *Phlius*, drawing out the *Thebans* he had in Garison, together with the *Sicyonians* and *Pellenians*, for they then assisted the *Thebans*, whom *Euphron* joyned with two thousand of his *Mercenaries*: The rest marched down by the *Tricranum* to *Juno's* Temple, making as if they would destroy all the Country before them. The *Sicyonians* and *Pellenians* were posted by the *Corinthian* Gate on the top of an Hill, that the *Phliansians* might not surround them, and gain an Eminence which lay beyond *Juno's* Temple. When the *Phliansians* perceived that the Enemy would fall into the Plain, the Horse and chosen men made opposition and hindred them from entring it; so that most part of the Day was spent in Skirmishing, *Euphron's* men pursuing the Enemy as far as the Horse could pass, and the Townsamen as far as *Juno's* Temple. When the Enemy thought it was time to march off, they went round to the *Tricranum*, because the Valley before the Wall hindred them from passing the direct way to the *Pellenians*, but the *Phliansians*

Phliansians pursuing them a little way as far as to the rising Ground, they faced about, and marched on by the Wall towards the *Pellenians*, and their Associates. The *Theban* Governour being inform'd of the *Phliansians* diligence, did his utmost endeavour to give the *Pellenians* timely assistance, but the *Phliansian* Horse prevented him, and fell upon the *Pellenians*, who at first received them, and made them retreat; but the latter joyning the Foot that were come up, charged them again, and closed. Soon after the Enemy gave ground, and some of the *Sicyonians* fell together with a great many brave men of the *Pellenians*. For this Action the *Phliansians* erected a noble Trophy, and according to the custom sang an Hymn.

In the mean while the *Theban* General and *Euphron* beheld this Skirmish from several places, as if they had intended to have seen a fight. Afterwards the Enemy returned home to *Sicyon*, and the Townsamen to the City. The *Phliansians* behaved themselves incomparably well in this Action, and tho they were reduced to great want, yet they discharged a *Pellenian*, who had been their publick Host, without ransom. *Who would not allow*
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men, who perform'd such Exploits as these, to be both brave and courageous: for 'tis known to the whole world, that they adhered to their Friends with invincible resolution.

When they were deprived of their Corn, they lived partly upon Forage, and partly by what they bought at Corinth, going to Market through many dangers, getting Money with great difficulty, hardly procuring any to furnish them, and scarcely hiring it upon the security of their labouring Beasts. At last being in extreme want, they prevailed with Chares to send them a Convoy to Phlius, and after he arrived, they desired him to conduct the useless people to Pellene, which he did, and left them there. Then they bought provisions, and loading as many Beasts as they could get, departed by night, and tho they knew that the Enemy way-laid them, yet thinking it would be more grievous to starve, than fight, they proceeded on their way with Chares, and meeting the Enemy, encouraged one another, and presently fell to work, calling upon him for assistance. Having obtain'd the Victory, they beat the Enemy out of the Road, and at last arrived safe with their Convoy. The next day they slept late,
because

* 772
2070.

because they had watched that night. At last, when Chares rose, the Horse and principal Men of the City came to him, and said, Chares, *You may do an excellent piece of Service today; for the Sicyonians are fortifying a place in the Frontiers, having with them a great many Masons, but not many Soldiers. Wherefore our Horse, with the body of chosen Men will go before; and if you will follow with your Mercenaries, it may be you will find the work done to your hand, or if you do but appear, perhaps the Enemy will run as they did at Pellene. But if any thing seem difficult, do you consult the Gods by Sacrifice; for we are of opinion, that they had rather you should undertake this Enterprize than we. Assure your self, Chares, that if you effect it, you will not only defeat the Enemy, but preserve a City that is in amity with you. Besides you shall be the most honourable person in your Country, and most Renown'd of all, whether Allies or Enemies.*

Chares embracing their proposal, sacrificed and immediately the Phliasian Horse put on their Breast-plates, and bridled their Horses, the heavy-arm'd Men providing all things necessary for the Foot. When they had arm'd themselves,

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and

and were gone to the place where he sacrificed, he, and the Priest met them, and told them, that the Sacrifice was auspicious, *Only stay a while*, said they, *till we march out with you*. Orders were immediately given, and the Mercenaries went with full speed, as it were by a divine impulse; and when *Chares* began to march, the *Phliasian* Horse and Foot went on before; at the first marching nimbly, then * jogging on faster; at last the Horse and Foot advancing, gave a furious charge in the best order they were able, and were seconded by *Chares* with diligence. This was a little before Sun-set, when they surpris'd some of the Enemy upon the Wall, others washing, some getting ready their provisions, others kneading their Dough, and some making their Beds. When they saw the violence of the Attack, they were soon terrified and fled, abandoning all their provisions to those valiant men, who supped on them, and carried the Remainder home. Then sacrificing for their good Fortune, and singing an Hymn, they set their Watches and repos'd themselves. The *Corinthians* receiving the News about *Thyamia*, by night summoned all their Carriages, and loading them with Provisions, sent them

them very courteously to *Phlius*, whither they went every day after till the Wall was finished. This is the relation of the *Phliasians*, how they persisted in their fidelity to their Friends, and behaved themselves with Bravery in the War, and remained firm to their alliance, altho reduced to extreme want.

Much about this time, *Æneas* the *Stymphalian*, General of the *Arcadians*, thinking the Transactions at *Sicyon* were not to be endured, went up into the Citadel with his Army, and assembled the principal Men of the *Sicyonians*, recalling those who were banished without a publick Decree. *Euphron* fearing this, fled to the Port of *Sicyon*, and sent for *Pasimelus* from *Corinth*, by which means he delivered up the Port to the *Lacedemonians*, and again embraced their Alliance, professing he had ever been faithful to them: for when it was put to a vote whether they should break with the *Lacedemonians* or no, he with a few more declar'd against it. Afterwards designing to call them, that betrayed him, to an account, he constituted a Democracy: And now, says he, *I have banished all those that have betraid you; and if it had lain in my power, I had brought over the*

City to you, but the Port which I was possess'd of, I have delivered up. Many heard him what he said, tho' how many believ'd him is not certain. But since I have begun with Euphron's Designs, I will go through with them.

The principal Men and People of *Sicyon* being divided, *Euphron* return'd into his own Country, bringing with him some Mercenaries from *Athens*, by whose assistance he possess'd himself of the Town, but the *Theban* Governor had the Cittadel. *Euphron* knowing it was impossible to maintain the City, whilst the *Theban* held the Cittadel, rais'd money, and going to *Thebes*, perswaded the *Thebans* to banish the principal Men, and deliver up the Town again. But those who had been banished by him, knowing his intent, and scenting his journey and design, went to *Thebes* to prevent him, where, fearing he might effect what he came for, because they saw him familiar with the Magistrates, they ventured the danger, and cut his Throat in the Cittadel, at the time the Magistrates and Senate were sitting. The Magistrates brought the Men that committed the Fact before the Senate, and spoke thus,

We, Fellow-Citizens, indict these Men
who

who have kill'd Euphron for Murder. We find that sober Men never commit any unjust or villainous Act, and when Rogues do, they endeavour to hide it. But these have so far transcended all Men in boldness and villany, that without authority they have murdered a man in the face of you the Magistrates, who have the power of Life and Death; if these therefore suffer not the utmost severity of the Law, who will dare to come hereafter to this City? And what will become of this place, if every man may kill those that come hither, before they declare what business they come about. We prosecute these as the most impious and lawless Fellows, who have in an high nature acted in contempt of the Government. Now ye have heard the Case, inflict on them what punishment you think they deserve.

Thus said the Magistrates, the *Russians* denied all that they were concerned in the Murder, except one, who confess'd it, and began to make his Defence in this manner.

My Lords of Thebes, That man dares not offer any contempt to you, who knows that ye have power to use him as ye please. I'll now declare upon what Grounds I kill'd this man. Ye may assure your selves, the

The Russians
Deny
the
Defence.

first reason was, because I thought it lawful; another is that I might bring you to a right understanding of the case. I found when Archias and Hypates perpetrated the same villanies that Euphron did, ye never staid for the formality of a Trial, but did justice on them the first opportunity: for you grant, that they who are sacrilegious persons, notorious Traitors and Usurpers have already received the sentence of death from all mankind. And certainly Euphron was guilty of all these Crimes; for he left the Temples naked, which he found adorn'd with Offerings of Gold and Silver. Who was a more profess'd Traitor than Euphron? For being a great Friend to the Lacedemonians, he preferr'd your interest before theirs; and then having engaged himself to you, forsook your interest again, and delivered up the Port to your Enemies. And was not he a notorious Tyrant, in that he both freed the Slaves, and naturalized them, killing, banishing and confiscating the Estates, not only of the innocent, but whomsoever he listed, and amongst these Men of the chiefest Quality. Beside being recalled from exile, by the favour of the Athenians your inveterate Enemies, he took Arms against your Governor, and since he was not able to drive

drive him out of the Cittadel, he has scrap'd up money, and is come hither. If he had appear'd openly in Arms against you, ye would have return'd me thanks for killing him; now when he has brought money to corrupt you, and so to procure himself to be made supreme of his Country, how can I in Justice be put to death, for inflicting on him his deserved punishment? They that are oppressed by violence suffer indeed, yet cannot be thought unjust; but those who are basely corrupted with Bribes, both suffer and fall into disgrace too. If therefore he were my Enemy, and your Friend, I confess I have then done ill in killing him amongst you: But how came he that betray'd you to be more my Enemy than yours? Perhaps some will say he came hither of his own accord; therefore if any had killed him without your City he had been commended. But now he is come to add more mischief to his former, you can't deny but that he was justly put to death. How can he, that maintains, He was unjustly killed, make it appear, that Traitors, Renegades, or Tyrants are comprehended in the public Leagues amongst the Greeks. Moreover, I desire you would call to mind a Decree made by you, wherein you give leave to seize Exiles,

Exiles, and take them out of the confederate Cities: Now can any one say, that that Exile is unjustly killed, who returns home without the general Decree of the Allies? My Lords, I affirm, that if you put me to death, you revenge the blood of him who was your most inveterate Enemy. But if you find I have done according to Law, you will not only do justice to your selves, but all your Allies.

The *Thebans* hearing this, decreed, that *Euphron* had suffered condign punishment. But his Fellow-Citizens having an high opinion of him, carried him to *Sicyon*, and buried him in the Market-place, adoring him as their Founder. *For all people would have their Benefactors esteemed good men.* Hitherto I have spoken of *Euphron*, and now return from my Digression.

Whilst the *Phliasians* were fortifying *Thyamia*, and *Chares* was there, the Exiles surpris'd *Oropus*, to which place when the *Athenians* had drawn their whole Forces, and sent for *Chares*, they being assisted by the *Arcadians*, retok the Port of *Sicyon*. None of the Confederates aided the *Athenians*, but marched away, and deposited *Oropus* in the hands of the *Thebans*, till the Controversie was decided.

decided. But when *Lycomedes* understood the *Athenians* complained of the Confederates, that these created them a great deal of trouble, and yet no body assisted them; he perswaded the ten thousand to treat with the *Athenians* about an Alliance. At first the *Athenians*, being in League with the *Lacedemonians*, some of them thought it hard to confederate with their Enemies, yet concluding it would be as advantageous to the *Lacedemonians* as themselves, for the *Arcadians* to be deprived of the *Thebans* assistance, they at last accepted the League. *Lycomedes* having dispatch'd this Affair, parted from *Athens*, and died after a strange manner: for there being several Ships, he chose one which he liked best, and agreeing to be set on shore where he pleased, he fell by chance into the hands of the Exiles, and so was killed.

The League was thus concluded, but *Demotion* making a Speech to the people of *Athens*, declared, That in his opinion it was judiciously made, yet that they ought to order the Generals to secure *Corinth*. The *Corinthians* hearing this, immediately sent sufficient Guards of their own to every place where the *Athenians*

Athenians were in Garrison, and commanded them to depart, because they had no occasion for them. Accordingly they complied. Afterwards when the *Athenians* flocked out of the Forts into the City, the *Corinthians* made Proclamation, That if any of them had received any injury, the Law was open, and they should have Justice done them. Whilst Affairs stood thus, *Chares* arrived with his Fleet at *Cenchreae*, and understanding what had passed, told them, that hearing of a Design against the City, he was come to assist them, they gave him their thanks, yet did not receive his Fleet into their Harbour, but ordered him to depart. In like manner, having paid off the heavy-arm'd Men, they dismiss'd them. Thus *Corinth* was clear'd of the *Athenians*, who were obliged by the Treaty to assist the *Arcadians* with a Body of Horse, in case their Country was invaded: but not to enter *Laconia* therewith.

The *Corinthians* considering it would be difficult to secure themselves, being they were already pressed at Land, and had the *Athenians* for a new Enemy, who alone were too great a Match, resolved to raise Mercenary Horse and Foot, and command

mand them themselves, whereby they might not only secure their own City, but act offensively against their Enemies. Besides they sent to *Thebes* to know whether they might have a peace; the *Thebans* gave them encouragement, yet they chose first to consult their Allies about it, being willing to make peace with those that desired it, and to let those who preferred War, to have a War. The *Thebans* giving their consent, the *Corinthians* went to *Lacedemon*, and there delivered themselves after this manner:

My Lords of Lacedemon, We your Allies are come hither, requiring you, that if you have any prospect of success by continuing the War, to inform us thereof: but if your Affairs be reduced to extremity, it will be for your Interest as well as ours to make a Peace. There is no Nation in the World that we had rather be secure with, than with yours. But if you think War can be advantageous to you, we desire you to give us the liberty of making peace for our selves. If we be preserv'd we may at a seasonable time assist you; but if we be now ruined, we can never be serviceable to you hereafter.

The *Lacedemonians* hearing this, advised the *Corinthians* to make peace, and permitted

The *Corinthians*
Speech to
the *Lacedemonians*.

permitted the other Allies that were not disposed to carry on the War, to sit still, declaring, as for themselves, they would hold out, and submit to Providence. But to part with *Messene*, which they had received from their Ancestors, they would yield to never. Thereupon the *Corinthians* went to *Thebes* for Peace. The *Thebans* required them to make a League offensive and defensive: to which the *Corinthians* made answer, That such a League was not a Peace, but an Exchange of the War; however, if they thought good, they were willing to make one upon equal Terms. The *Thebans* admiring them, because they would not be ungrateful to their Benefactors, tho they were exposed to danger, granted them, the *Phlians*, and the rest that came with them a Peace upon condition, that every one should possess their own, and on these terms it was ratified. The *Phlians* immediately upon conclusion of the Treaty quitted *Thyamia*; but the *Argives*, tho they had sworn to the Peace, being not able to procure the same Freedom for the *Phlian* Exiles in *Tricranum*, as in their own City, possess'd themselves of *Thyamia*, and placed a Garrison there, alledging the Territory belong'd to them, tho

tho a little before they had destroyed it in an hostile manner, and when the *Phlians* demanded Justice, they denyed it them.

Much about this time, *Dionysius* the Chion Ar-
chen. elder died, and his Son sent twelve Gallies, commanded by *Timocrates*, to aid the *Lacedemonians*; who, after he arrived, assisted them in the taking of *Sellasia*, and then returned home again. Not long after, the *Eleans* took *Lasio*, which formerly belonged to them, but at that time it was under the jurisdiction of the *Arcadians*. The *Arcadians* neglected it not, but immediately assembled their Forces together, and took the Field, against whom the *Eleans* came out first with four hundred Men, and then with three hundred more encamping all the day in a Plain. In the night the *Arcadians* march'd up to the top of an Hill that over-looked the *Eleans*, and came down upon them by break of day. The *Eleans* seeing, that they were stronger, and march'd from the higher Ground, were yet ashamed for some time to decamp; but the *Arcadians* attacking them at last, they scarce came to handy-blows before they fled, and lost a great many Men and Arms in their Retreat, through the strait Passes.

After

After this Action, the *Arcadians* attacked the Towns of the *Acrorians*, and having taken all but *Thraustus*, passed on to *Olympia*; where making a Trench about *Saturn's* Temple, they put in a Garrison there, and possess'd themselves of Mount *Olympus*. Then they took *Margana* upon surrender. The *Eleans* were wholly dejected at this success of their Enemies. The *Arcadians* also came up to the very City, and advanced as far as the Market-place, where the *Elean* Horse, and some others beside encountering them beat them out, and having killed some of them erected a Trophy. Sometime before this, there were Divisions at *Elis*, for the Faction of *Charopus*, *Thraasonidas* and *Argeus* brought in a Democracy, and that of *Stalcas*, *Hippias* and *Stratolas* an Oligarchy. But the *Arcadians* having a great power, and inclining to those who were for a Democracy, *Charopus's* Party thereby became bolder, agreeing with the *Arcadians* to assist them, and surprise the Cittadel. The Horse and the three hundred Foot observing them, march'd up thither, and beat them out, so that *Argeus* and *Charopus* with about four hundred more were banished. Not long after being

supported

supported by a Body of *Arcadians*, they took *Pylus*, to which place there had been a Concourse of People from the City, as being wealthy, and having so powerful assistance from the *Arcadians*; who afterwards entered the *Eleans* Country, being perswaded by the Exiles, that the City would yield to them. But the *Achæans* being at that time in League with the *Eleans*, protected them, so that the *Arcadians* only harrassed their Country, and retired.

As soon as they were march'd out of the Territory of *Elis*, being inform'd, that some *Pellenians* were in the City, they took a long March in the Night, and possessed themselves of *Olurus*, a Town that belonged to the *Pellenians*, because they were in League with the *Lacedemonians*. After the *Pellenians* heard the News of *Olurus*, they fetched a long compass, and returned to their own City. Afterwards, tho they were but a small Party, yet they attacked the *Arcadians*, and all the people in *Olurus*; nor did they desist till they had taken it. Again the *Arcadians* attempted *Elis* in another Voyage; and whilst they encamped between *Cyllene* and the City, the *Eleans* attacked them; but the *Arcadians* re-

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ceiving

ceiving their first Charge, repulsed them. Whereupon *Andromachus* the Governor of the *Eleans*, who perswaded them to fight, kill'd himself, the rest retired into the Town, and *Soclidus* the *Spartan* being in this Fight was slain; for the *Lacedemonians* were at this time in League with the *Eleans*. When the *Eleans* were hard pressed at home, they sent an Ambassador, and desired the *Lacedemonians* to fall upon the *Arcadians*, thinking the best way to divert them would be to attack them on both sides. Thereupon *Archidamus* marched out with the *Lacedemonians*, and taking *Cromnus*, left there a Garrison of three Companies out of twelve, and so returned home.

The *Arcadians* being assembled about the Expedition against *Elis*, marched with their Forces, and securing themselves with a double Trench, besieged *Cromnus*. The *Lacedemonians* being much concerned, that their People should be besieged, sent out another Army under the Leading of *Archidamus*, who went and destroyed all *Arcadia* and *Sciris*, endeavouring, if it were possible, to raise the Siege; yet the *Arcadians* stirred not from the place, nor took any notice of them.

Then *Archidamus* viewing an Hill along

long which the *Arcadians* had drawn their outermost Trench, thought he could take it, and that if he were possessed thereof, the place would be too hot for the Besiegers. When he had fetched a compass about it with his Forces, the foremost of his light-arm'd Men discovered the * *Epariti* without the Works, * A chosen Band of and set upon them, the Horse endeavouring to break in with them. The *Arcadians* received them in good order, and maintain'd their Ground. Then the rest Men amongst the *Arcadians*. attached them, yet they would not give back, but set up a loud shout, and pressed forward upon the Enemy. *Archidamus* relieved his Men, and turned towards the Road that leads to *Cromnus*, having drawn them up two deep; but as soon as he began to move, his Men were drawn up in File, because they marched in the Road. The *Arcadians* with their close Body made a * Target-defense, upon * *Συνομή* which the *Lacedemonians* were not able *ἀντί* to maintain their Charge. *Archidamus* being soon wounded through the Thigh, *Polyænidas*, and *Chilo*, that had married *Archidamus's* Sister, and those who fought in the Front, were slain; and in all there were thirty killed. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* retired out of the Road, and

marched into the open Field, drawing up in a close body; nevertheless, the *Arcadians* remained in their first order, being inferior in numbers, but superior in courage; for they fell upon those that retreated, and cut several of them in pieces. On the contrary, the *Lacedemonians* seeing *Archidamus* wounded, and hearing the names of the valiant Men that were slain, being some of the bravest they had, were much disheartened. At length they came near one another, and one of the old men cried out, *Sirs, why should we fight? Why don't we make a Truce?!* They willingly hearkened to this, and came to Terms of Agreement. So the *Lacedemonians* took their dead, and marched off, and the *Arcadians* returning to the place where they first began the Battel, erected a Trophy.

Whiles the *Arcadians* invested *Cromnus*, the *Eleans* marching to *Pylus*, met with the *Pylians* that had been repulsed at *Thalamæ*. Thereupon the *Elean* Horse making use of the opportunity as soon as they saw them, advanced forwards, and immediately charged them, killing some, whilst the rest retired to an Hill; but afterwards the Foot coming up, they

they defeated those on the Hill, killing and taking near two hundred. They sold the Mercenaries for Slaves, and put the Exiles to the sword. After this, none assisting the *Pylians*, they took *Pylus*, and recovered *Margana*. A while after the *Lacedemonians* coming by night to *Cromnus*, gained the Trench, and immediately fetched off their besieged through the * *Argives* Quarter. For as * *Legē Ka*. many as were near, and nick'd the † time, ^{τὰ τοῦ} got out, but those that the *Arcadians* ^{Ἀρξέτες} prevented by their speed, being driven ^{Palmer.} † ^{ὁ ἔχων} back, were taken, and divided amongst ^{ἑστάν.} the Victors: one share whereof fell to the *Argives*, another to the *Thebans*, a third to the *Arcadians*, and the last to the *Messenians*. There were taken in all, of the *Spartans* and their Neighbors, above an hundred. After the *Arcadians* had finished the Siege of *Cromnus*, they turned their Arms upon the *Eleans*, and reinforced the Garrison at *Olympia*. Moreover the *Olympick* Year coming on, they made preparations to keep the Games with the *Pisians*, who pretended to be Presidents of *Jupiter's* Temple.

The Month being come, in which the *Olympick* Games are celebrated, and the day of Solemnity at hand; the *Eleans*

Olymp. 104.
Tennocrates
Archon.

made open preparations, and invited the *Achæans*, marching the way that goes to *Olympia*. The *Arcadians* thinking they would never come up with them, they ordered the Solemnity being assisted by the *Pisans*. The Horse-Races were already over, and the Foot-Races that belonged to the Five Games: The Wrestlers did not play in the Course, but between it and the Altar. When the *Eleans* came to the Temple of *Jupiter*, the *Arcadians* went not far to meet them, but drew up in Battalia near the River *Cladaus*, which runs by *Alte*, and falls into the *Alpheus*. The *Arcadians* were assisted by two thousand *Argive* heavy-arm'd Men, and about four hundred *Athenians*. The *Eleans* drew up by the River, and having sacrificed, immediately advanced; and altho neither the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, *Achæans*, nor *Athenians* thought them Soldiers before that time; yet then they led the Van, as being the bravest Men of all the Confederates. They first attacked the *Arcadians*, and immediately routed them: then receiving the *Argives* that seconded them, defeated them too, and pursued them to the place between the Senate-House and *Vesta's* Temple, to which the Theatre

joyns,

joyns, fighting still, and driving them towards the Altar: but being shot at both from the *Porticoes*, Senate-House, and great Temple, at length they engaged on the plain ground, and there several with *Stratolas*, a Captain of three hundred, were slain, and after this Action they retired into their Camp. The *Arcadians* and their Auxiliaries so dreaded the following day, that they plucked down their Tents in the night, and intrenched themselves. The next day the *Eleans* approaching, and finding the Wall very strong, and that several were got on the tops of the Temples, returned to *Elis*, Having approv'd themselves as brave Men as Heaven with its inspired valour could in one day make them: for man cannot in a long space of time make Cowards valorous.

The States of *Arcadia* made use of the consecrated Money, and paid the *Epariti* therewith; but the *Mantineans* first of all declared they would not meddle with it, and then raising their *Quota* due to the *Epariti* from them, sent it to the States; but these alledging, that the Community of the *Arcadians* was ruined by the *Mantineans*, summoned the Magistrates to appear before the Ten Thousand. But

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the *Mantineans* refusing to obey, they passed sentence on them, and sent the *Epariti* to bring the Criminals before them, yet they would not receive them, but shut their Gates against them. About this time some of the Ten Thousand themselves, declared, that they ought not to convert the consecrated Money to their own use, lest they should thereby entail a Curse upon their Posterity. Thereupon the whole Assembly resolv'd not to convert this consecrated Money to their own uses. Upon this those *Epariti* which could not subsist without pay deserted, and those *Arcadians* that could, exhorted one another to succeed in their places, that so the *Epariti* might be in their power, and not they in the power of the *Epariti*.

* Δρακο-
χρημα-
τισ.

The principal men that had * fingered the Sacred Money, considering they should be in danger of losing their Heads, if they were called to an account, sent to the *Thebans* to let them know, that if they did not succour them, it was to be feared, that the *Arcadians* would side with the *Lacedemonians*. Accordingly the *Thebans* made preparations to assist them. On the contrary, those who were inclined most to the Interest of *Pelopon-*
sus

sus, perswaded the Community of the *Arcadians* to send Ambassadors, and acquaint the *Thebans*, that they should not enter *Arcadia* with their Army, till they had farther invitation. Nor did they declare themselves thus to the *Thebans* only, but concluded themselves upon very good Reasons, that they had no obligation to make a War, knowing that they had no Title to be Presidents of *Jupiter's* Temple, but that they should do a greater piece of Justice, and which would be more pleasing to the God, by restoring the Presidentship to the *Eleans*. The *Eleans* approving of it, both sides thought fit to conclude a Peace, and accordingly one was concluded. When all, as well the *Tegeans*, as the *Theban* that commanded three hundred *Bæotian* heavy-arm'd Men at *Tegea*, had taken the Oaths, some of the *Arcadians* that remained at *Tegea* feasted, and were merry, offering Sacrifices, and singing Hymns, as tho the Peace had been already Ratified. The *Thebans* and chief of the *Arcadians*, as also the *Bæotians*, that were afraid lest they should be call'd to an account about the consecrated Money, and the *Epariti* that were under the same Circumstances, causing the
Gates

Gates of *Tegea* to be shut, sent Officers to those that were making merry, and seized the Principal Persons amongst them. For every one being desirous of Peace, there was a great Concourse of People from all the Cities of *Arcadia*, whereby there must needs be a great many taken, insomuch that the Prison and Town-House were filled with them. Several were committed to Custody, some leap'd down the Walls, and others were let out at the Gates; (for no body was incens'd against any one, except those that thought they should be put to death) which put the *Theban* Commander, and his Complices to their Wits-ends, because they had seized very few of the *Mantineans*, whom chiefly they design'd to take, for their City being near most of them escaped home. When it was day, and the *Mantineans* heard how Affairs went, they sent immediately to all the *Arcadian* Towns, summoning them to appear in Arms, and to be upon their Guard, as they were. At the same time they sent to *Tegea*, and demanded the *Mantineans* they had seiz'd; Adding, that no *Arcadian* ought to be imprisoned or put to death without a tryal. And some there were who blam'd them for these Proceedings,

ceedings, because the *Mantineans* had engag'd to produce any before the Community of the *Arcadians* that should be Impeached. The *Theban* Commander hearing this, could not tell how to govern himself, but discharged all the Prisoners; and the Day following, calling together as many *Arcadians* as would assemble, excused himself before them, saying, he was mistaken; and told them, that he heard that the *Lacedemonians* were in the Frontiers with their Army, and that some of the *Arcadians* were ready to betray *Tegea* to them: which when they heard, they let him go, though they knew that he imposed upon them.

The *Arcadians* sent Ambassadors to *Thebes* to Impeach this Commander of Treason; and then they report, that *Epaminondas* who was at that time their General, should say; That he did much better in seizing the *Arcadians*, than in discharging them: For, said he, Why may not he accuse you of Treason, when we for your sakes made War, and you without our Consent have concluded a Peace? Assure your selves, said he, we will employ our Arms against *Arcadia*, and make a joynt War with our Confederates. When this was reported to the Com-

* *Mantine-
ans, Eleans,
Acheans.*

Community of the *Arcadians*, and the Account hereof spread through every City, the rest of the *Arcadians*, and * those that were concern'd for *Peloponnesus* gathered from hence, that the *Thebans* did endeavour to weaken the *Peloponnesians* what they could, that so they might enslave them with the more ease: For, said they, Why would they have us both involv'd in a War, unless it was to weaken one another, that so both of us may stand in need of their assistance? Why do they make Preparations for a Campaign, tho' we have told them that we have no occasion at this time for them? Is it not manifest that they design us mischief? Thereupon they sent to *Athens* for assistance, and dispatch'd the *Epariti* on an Embassie to the *Lacedemonians*, requiring them to joyn Forces, and preserve *Peloponnesus* from slavery. Then they determined the matter about the Command in Chief, how that each Republick should command in their own Territories.

*Chariclidēs
Archon.*

Whilst these things were in agitation, *Epaminondas* took the Field with all the *Bæotians*, *Eubæans*, and several *Thessalians* he had from *Alexander*, and from his Enemies: The *Phoceans* did not joyn them, alledging they had agreed to assist

sist the *Thebans* if any invaded them; but it was not in the Articles to make a War Offensive. *Epaminondas* considered that they had the *Argives*, *Messenians*, and the *Arcadians* in *Peloponnesus*, which sided with them: the *Tegeans* also, *Meagalapolitans*, *Aseans*, *Palanteans*, and some other small Towns that lay amongst these which were compelled to follow them: He marched out with great diligence, and arriving at *Nemea*, made an halt there, hoping to intercept the *Athenians* that were passing that way; thinking this would be of great moment to confirm the Confederates, and to put the Enemy into a Consternation; and in short, every thing would be advantageous to him that incommoded the *Athenians*. Whilst he remained there, all the *Peloponnesians* that had confederated together, assembled at *Mantineia*: But as soon as *Epaminondas* understood that the *Athenians* had changed their resolution of marching by Land, and made Preparations by Sea, to pass with their Army through *Lacedemon* to the relief of the *Arcadians*, he decamped from *Nemea*, and arrived at *Tegea*.

I cannot say that this Expedition of his was much successful, though I find nothing

nothing of Conduct or Courage wanting in him: First I cannot but commend him for encamping within the Walls of *Tegea*, as having there a securer Post; than if he had been without, and being more private from the Enemies understanding his Designs: Besides, if he had occasion for any necessaries, they might be easier procured in the City: and the Enemy encamping without the Town might be discovered if they did any thing well, or committed any mistake: And because he thought himself stronger than the Enemy, as often as he saw them attempt the taking any advantageous Posts, he went not out to attack them. But when he found never a Town would surrender to him, and that the Season advanced, he thought he must perform some remarkable Exploit, or else expect some great Disgrace instead of his former Glory.

Therefore being Advertised that the Enemy was strongly encamped near *Mantineia*, and had sent for *Agefilaus* and all the *Lacedemonians*, being informed also that *Agefilaus* was already marcht as far as *Pellene*; he Supped, and giving Orders to the Army, moved directly towards *Sparta*: And if a certain *Cretan*
by

by a special Providence had not informed *Agefilaus* that the Army was upon their march, *Epaminondas* had surprized the City like a Nest of young Ones, wholly defenceless: But *Agefilaus* having first Intelligence of it, reached the City before the Enemy, and posted his *Spartans*, who though but an handful, defended the Place. For all their Horse, their Mercenary Troops, and three Companies out of Ten were march'd on before into *Arcadia*. After *Epaminondas* was come to *Sparta*, he did not enter the Town where the Enemy might have engaged him in the Plain, or where they might have thrown their Darts from off the Houses, or where a small number could have done as much service as a greater; but took a Place of which he thought he could make advantage, and so went down, not up into the City. But what hapned there afterwards may be partly ascribed to Providence; or else it may be said, that no Power can resist the Desperate. For though *Archidamus* had not an hundred men, he not only passed over the River, where in probability he might have been hindred, but marched up a rising Ground to the Enemy; and there those Souldiers that breathed Fire,
that

that had beaten the *Lacedemonians* that were in every respect stronger than they, and on higher Ground, could not sustain the Charge of *Archidamus's* Men, but gave ground, and the foremost of *Epaminondas's* Men were slain. The *Lacedemonians* being transported with the Victory, and pursuing the Enemy too far, came off with some loss: *For as it seems, Providence had circumscribed the bounds of the Victory how far it should extend.* *Archidamus* erected a Trophy in the Place where he had routed the Enemy, and deliver'd their Dead upon Truce.

Epaminondas considering that the *Arcadians* were coming to the relief of *Lacedemon*, would not fight them and the *Lacedemonians* together; especially these having been lately successful, and his own Men foiled. Wherefore marching back again with all speed to *Tegea*, and refreshing his Heavy-arm'd men, he sent his Horse to *Mantineia*, desiring them to hold out bravely; telling them that probably all the *Mantineans* and their Cattel were without the Walls, it being the time that they housed their Corn; accordingly they went: In the mean while the *Athenian* Horse marching from *Eleusis*, Supped at the *Isthmus*, and passing by *Cleone*,
arrived

arrived at *Mantineia*, and took up their Quarters in the City. The *Mantineans* being certified that the Enemies Cavalry were coming thither, desired the *Athenian* Horse to assist them if 'twere possible: for all their Cattel were abroad, as also their Workmen; a great many Children, and old Men that were free. The *Athenians* hearing this, went out to their Assistance, before either they or their Horses had eaten.

Here who can enough admire the Valour of these Horses, who though they saw the Enemy were far stronger, and tho they themselves had had a Disaster at *Corinth*, they yet never call'd it to mind, or that they were to fight with the *Theban* and *Thessalian* Horse, which were counted the best in the World: But ashamed to come thither without doing the Confederates any Service; as soon as ever they came in view of the Enemy, desirous to maintain the Glory of their Ancestors, they engaged them, and by this Encounter saved all that the *Mantineans* had abroad; yet they lost some brave men, and slew also some such of the Enemy: For there was none on either side that had so short a Weapon, but that he could reach his Enemy therewith: At last they carried

off their Friends that were slain, and restored the Enemy theirs upon Truce.

Here *Epaminondas* considering, that within a few days he should be obliged to depart, because the time set for the Expedition was elapsed; and that if he should leave them exposed, whom he came to assist, then they would be besieged by the Enemy, and himself should lose all his former Glory: (because he, and a strong body of Heavy-arm'd men had been beaten at *Lacedemon* by a few, foiled at *Mantineia* in a Skirmish with the Horse; and that his Voyage into *Peloponnesus* had given occasion to the *Lacedemonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, to enter into a Confederacy) thought it was not possible for him to retreat without fighting; considering too, that if he conquer'd he should remove all these Difficulties, and that if he were killed, it would be thought a Noble Death, by having attempted to leave his Country, the Sovereignty of *Peloponnesus*. Nor is it any great wonder to me that he should entertain these Designs, for these are the thoughts of men that are Lovers of Glory: But this is a greater wonder, that he so inur'd his Souldiers to refuse no kind of Toyl
either

either by Day or Night, to decline no Danger, and to obey his Commands though they wanted Provisions. For at last, when he gave out orders to his Army to prepare themselves for Battel, the Horse readily at his Command whiten'd their Head-pieces, and some of the *Arcadian* Heavy-arm'd men form'd themselves into Companies, and carried Clubs after the manner of the *Thebans*: Lastly, all whetted their Spears and Swords, and scoured their Bucklers. It is worth while to observe what he did after he had got them in this good Order.

At first, as is usual, he drew up in *Battalia*, and then signified that Preparations should be made for a Battel: after he had drawn up as he best liked, he did not take the shortest Cut to the Enemy, but led to the Hills that lay on the West of *Tegea*, and opposite to the place where he was: So that he made the Enemy believe he would not fight that Day. But after he came to the Mountains, and had extended his Army in Front, he made a halt under the Hills, as though he was about to Encamp; and by this abated the prepared Fury of the Enemy to fight, and made them negligent of the order of Battel they had drawn up

The Battel
at *Manti-*
nea.

ἐν μέσσοις.

in: But bringing the Companies that were placed in File to the Front, and making a strong Wedge about himself, he commanded them to take up their Arms again and led them on. When the Enemy saw them advance contrary to their expectation, no one stood still, but some ran to their Ranks, others prepared themselves in *Battalia*; some bridled their Horses, and put on their Armour, and seemed rather to be made a Carriage of, than to make one. On the other hand, *Epaminondas* led on his Army, being like the opposite Stem of a Galley, concluding that where-ever he made an Impression, there he should ruine their whole Body: For he had prepared to charge with the Flower of his Forces, leaving the Weaker part a good way off; considering that if this were beaten, it would put the rest into a Consternation, and add Resolution to the Enemies.

The Enemy had drawn up their Horse in depth like a *Battalion* of Heavy-arm'd men, not having flank'd them with Foot. on the contrary, *Epaminondas* made a firm Wedge of his Horse, and placed Foot by them, thinking that after he had broke through the Enemies Horse, he should

should beat all the rest of their Army: For 'tis very hard to find any that will abide by't, when they see their Fellow-Souldiers run. Now that the *Athenians*, on the left might not relieve those next them, he posted some Horse and Heavy-arm'd men on the opposite Hills, putting them in fear, that if they went to the relief of their men, these would fall on their Rear: Nor did he fail of his Design; for fighting in this order, he beat that Part he charged, and put the whole Army to flight: But after he fell himself, the others knew not how to use the Victory; for when the *Battalion* that charged them fled, the Heavy-arm'd men killed no body, nor advanced from the place where the Fight began. In like manner when the Enemies Horse fled, the *Thebans* did not pursue them, nor their Heavy-arm'd men, but as if they had been beaten, got disorderly away through the flying Enemy: The Foot and the Targetiers by agreement moved together with the Horse to the left, as if they had been Victorious, where most of them were cut in pieces by the *Athenians*.

This Action hapned contrary to the expectation of all men; for most part of *Greece* being got together, and drawn

up in *Battalia*, every one believed that if there were a Fight, the Victors would rule, and the Vanquish'd obey: But Providence so ordered it, that both sides as Victors set up Trophies, and neither side hindred the other from erecting them: both as Conquerors delivered the Slain upon Truce, and both as Conquered received them upon Truce. And though both pretended to the Victory, yet neither the one nor the other enlarg'd their Territories, or encreased their Power; but after the Fight there arose greater Confusion and Troubles in *Greece*, than ever were at any time before.

Thus far have I deduc'd my History, and perhaps that which follows may be done by some other hand.

An

An Advertisement.

THE Chronology of this History being obscure, it will be necessary to offer something towards the clearing of it. Our Author continues the History of the *Peloponnesian* War, which *Thucydides* began, and brought down as far as the end of Summer, in the Twenty first Year of the War, to the Second Battel at *Mantineia*, containing the Space of Forty eight Years. *Didorus Siculus* affirms in his XIII. Book, that *Xenophon* was the Continuator of *Thucydides*; but mistakes in asserting that *Thucydides* wrote to the Twenty second Year of the War; because the latter in the close of his VIII. Book, says, That the Twenty first Year would not be Completed, till the Winter that succeeded the Summer, where he breaks off his History, was elapsed.

Some learned men allow *Xenophon* to be the Continuator of *Thucydides*, but yet they would have the History of

some Years wanting; concluding it both from the abrupt beginning, which has no Introduction as the rest of his Works, and from the Account by *Olympiades* and *Archons*. 'Tis very probable the first may be so far true, that something may be defective, though not whole Years; but the Argument they fetch from the *Olympiades* and *Archons* to prove it, is insufficient, because that Account was not so early in use as these Authors, as has been formerly observ'd by a learned Gentleman; and therefore I have set them in the *Margin* as being a Gloss, and inserted into the *Text*. Moreover the constant Notation of Time throughout *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, is by Summer and Winter, and 'tis by accident that either of them make any mention of *Olympick* Years, and when they do, 'tis not in relation to the *Annals of the History*, but to some dependance the History has on them.

But further to prove that *Xenophon* was the Continuator of *Thucydides*: I shall alledge a Law of the *Lacedemonians*, that barred the same person from being twice Admiral, which is mentioned both in the second Book of this *History*, and by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lysander*, on this

this occasion. The *Lacedemonians* being vanquish'd by the *Athenians* in the Sea Fight at *Arginusæ*, their Affairs were reduced to a very ill Condition: yet the Confederates resolving to repair their former Losses, Requested the *Lacedemonians* to send them *Lysander* to Command their Fleet; having the experience of his Conduct in the Fight at *Notium*; wherein he overthrew the *Athenians*; The *Lacedemonians* answered them, that by their Law none might be twice Admiral; thereupon they gave *Aracus* the Command of the Fleet, choosing *Lysander* to go in Quality of his Vice-Admiral. Moreover the Admirals continued but a year in their Office: For we find in the first Book of this History, that as soon as *Lysander's* year was elaps'd, the *Lacedemonians* sent *Callicratidas* to succeed him.

Furthermore *Thucydides* in his last Book witnesses, that *Mindarus* succeeded *Asiocybus* in the Command of the Fleet, and *Xenophon* in the first Book of his History, implies that he was Admiral; because he mentions *Hegesandridas* as his Vice-Admiral.

Therefore, since none could be twice Admiral by the *Lacedemonian* Law, and
none

none could bear that Office longer than a year: And being *Thucydides* in the end of the eighth Book, and *Xenophon* in the beginning of this History, affirm, that *Mindarus* was Admiral; it follows that the one ends, and the other begins in the same year.

In the next place it is to be considered, that there are two Opinions concerning the duration of the War. *Thucydides* in his Fifth Book, says, That it lasted Twenty seven years, and ended when the Walls of the *Pireus* were demolished; but *Xenophon* says, Twenty eight and an half, accounting till the time that *Lyfander* return'd home in Triumph: Yet there was but half a year betwixt the Demolishing of the Walls, and *Lyfander's* Triumph; so that there is the difference of a year between both Accounts.

To this I answer, that as there are two ends of this War, so there are as many beginnings: For *Thucydides* accounts from the time of Action, and *Xenophon* from the Declaration of the War, which was when the Ambassadors of the Allies assembled at *Lacedemon*, to Confederate against the *Athenians*: and the like Supputation *Thucydides* makes in his Second Book; where he says, That *Pericles* died

two

two years and an half after the War began; which must be understood in *Xenophon's* sense and not in his own.

Having thus proved that *Xenophon* is the Continuator of *Thucydides*, and that there is no defect of any year; I proceed to set out the Six years and an half of the *Peloponnesian* War, that this Author writes of: the end of the Twenty first year, and beginning of the Twenty second are not distinguished; Whereupon I have followed *Diodorus Siculus* herein, and placed the Death of *Mindarus* in the end of the Twenty first year, and began the Twenty second with the Banishment of the *Syracusan* Captains; the other five years are expressly distinguished.

The rest of the *Chronology* is very obscure, which amongst other things makes me think that *Xenophon* did not finish this Piece, because the Notation of Time is frequently omitted, and in many places the Sequel of an Action not continued, but interrupted with some new relation. I have in order to the clearing of it, made four *Periods*; the first to the Fight at *Cnidus*, the second to the *Antalcidean* Peace, the third to the Battel at *Leuctra*, and the fourth to that at *Mantineæ*.

Mantineia. And because the Marks of Time are wanting in *Xenophon*, I have fitted them to the *Annals* of *Diodorus Siculus*, and where the years are not distinguished, I have supplied them out of the latter.

There is but one Notation of Time in the latter part of the History, which occurs in the Fifth Book, concerning the *Mantinean* War, that broke out at the Expiration of the Thirty years Truce made after the first Battel at *Mantineia*, which was fought in the Fourteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* War, and the third of the Ninety third *Olympiad*; so that accounting from that time to the third of the Ninety eighth *Olympiad*, when this War began, there are Two and thirty Years; and reck'ning exclusively, that is, neither the year when the Truce was made, nor the Year when the War began, and there will remain Thirty, the Number sought.

Addenda.

I thought it convenient to add these various *Lections* out of *Palmerius*, which came into my hands since this Translation was in the Press,

Page

Page 84. lin. 9. lege *Artaxerxes*. Page 124. lin. 4. pro τῶ ἐξω νέων lege Αἰξωνέων. For these *Exoneans* were a Tribe in *Attica*, and had no concern with the *Exiles* in the *Piræus*; so that *Lyſimachus* did very unjustly in killing them: whereas if they had belong'd to the *Exiles*, they had been Enemies, and so no injustice in him to have slain them.

Page 152 lin. 22 Lege ὡς προελήλυθότες τῶ πολέμῳ ἐς τὴν ἑφεσίῳ. For *Dercyllidas* entred the Country about *Ephesus* with his own Troops in no good order, because he arrived there before the Enemy, and knowing nothing of their March, was not upon his guard.

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